
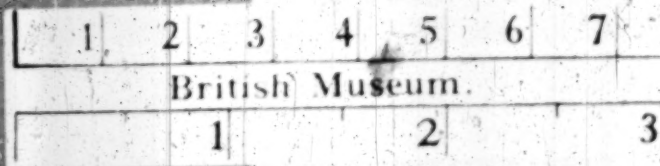



ornament that  
at top of stem in  
pressing the same  
as was used  
in the Museum  
copy of the  
English Edition  
of the   
Résumé de l'Exposition

L. J. J. J. J. J.

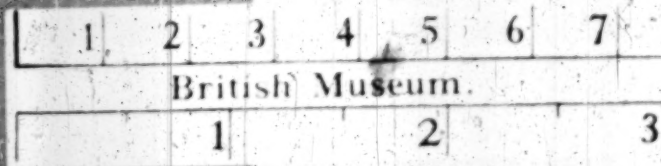
Bo. M. August 1856



ornament that  
at top of stem in  
pressing the same  
as was used  
in the Museum  
copy of the  
English Edition  
of the   
Recueil de Froys

L. J. J. J. J. J.

Bo. No. August 1850





**O** the right noble/right excellent & vertuous prince  
 George duc of Clarence Erle of warwycke and of  
 salisbury grete chamberlayn of Englonde & leutenant  
 of Ireland eldest broder of kynge Edward by the grace  
 of god kynge of Englande and of fraunce / your most  
 humble seruant William Carton amonge other of your  
 seruantes sendes vnto you peas . helthe . Joye and victo-  
 ry vpon your Enemyes / Right highe puyssant and  
 redoubted pryncce / For as moche as I haue vnderstande  
 and knowe / that ye are enclined vnto the comyn wele  
 of the kynge our sayd saueryn lord. his nobles lordes  
 and comyn peple of his nobl' r'ame of Englonde / and  
 that ye sawe gladly the iust' tans of y<sup>e</sup> same euformed  
 in good . vertuous . prouffitable and honeste maners .  
 In whiche your noble persone wyth guydyng of your  
 howe haboundeth / guyng light and ensample vnto all  
 other / Therefore I haue put me in deuour to translate a li-  
 tyll booke late comen in to myn handes out of frensh in to  
 englyshe / In which I fynde th' auctorites . dictes . and  
 storres of auncient Doctours philosophes poetes and of  
 other wyse men whiche been recounted & applyed vnto  
 the moralite of the publique wele as well of the nobles  
 as of the comyn peple after the game and playe of the  
 chesse whiche booke right puyssant and redoubtid lord  
 I haue made in the name and vnder the shadowe of your  
 noble protection / not presumyng to correcte or enpoigne  
 any thyng agens your noblesse / For god be thankyd  
 your excellent renome shyneth as well in strange regions  
 as with in the royaume of englande gloriously vnto your  
 honour and lande / whiche god multiplye and increce  
 But to th'entent that other of what estate or degre he or

they stande in may see in this sayde litle booke / yf they go-  
uerne themselves as they ought to doo / wherfor my right  
dew redoubted lord I require a supplie your good grace  
not to despayne to resseyue this litle sayde booke in gree  
and thanke / as well of me your humble and unknowen  
seruant as of a better and gretter man than I am / For  
the right good wyll that I haue had to make this litle  
werke in the best wyse I can / ought to be reputed for the  
fayte and dede / And for more clere to procede in this  
sayde booke I haue ordered that the chapitres ben sette in  
the begynnyng to thende that ye may see more playnly  
the mater wherof the booke treteth 2c.





**A** This booke conteyneth .iiii. traptres / The first traptre  
is of the Inuencion of this playe of the chesse / and conteyneth .iii. chapitres

The first chapitre is vnder what kynge this playe was  
founden

The .ii. chapitre / who fonde this playe

The .iii. chapitre / treteth of .iii. causes why hit was  
made and founden

**T**he seconde traptre treteth of the chesse men / and con-  
teyneth .v. chapitres

The first chapitre treteth of the forme of a kynge and of  
suche thinges as apperteyn to a kynge

The .ii. chapitre treteth of a queene and her forme and maners

The .iii. chapitre of the forme of the alphins and her offi-  
ces and maners

The .iiii. chapitre is of the knyght and of his offices

The .v. is of the rooys and of their maners and offices

**T**he third traptre is of the offices of the comyn peple  
And hath .viii. chapitres

The first chapitre is of the labourers and tilinge of the erthe

The .ii. of smiths and other werkes myron and metall

The .iii. is of dyapers and makers of cloth and notaries

The .iiii. is of goldsmiths and chaungers

The .v. is of phisiciens and cirugiens and apotecaries

The .vi. is of tauerneers and hostellers

The .vii. is of the gardes of the cyty and tollers and customers

The .viii. is of ribauldes disceptours and currouers

**T**he .iiii. traptre is of the messengers and pssue of them  
And hath .viii. chapitres

The first is of the eschequer

The seconde of the pssue and progression of the kynge

The thirde of the p'ssue of the queene  
 The fourth is of the p'ssue of the alphyne  
 The fifth is of the p'ssue of the knyghtes  
 The sixty chapitre of the p'ssue of the rooke  
 The seuenth is of the meyrnge a p'ssue of the comyn peple  
 And the eyght and laste chapitre is of the epilegacion.  
 And of the requyrtacion of all these forsaide chapitres.



Thoughe the



This first chapiter of the first tractate sheweth under  
what kynge the play of the chesse was founden and  
maade . . .

**A**monge all the euill condicions and signes  
that may be in a man the first and p<sup>r</sup> grettest  
is whan he feereth not/ne dredeth to displese  
and make wroth gode by synne / and the  
peple by lpyng disordynatly / whan he rec  
cheth not / ner taketh hede vnto them that reprove hym  
and his vices / but sleeth them / In suche wyse as dide the  
emperour Nero / whiche dide do sle his maister seneque  
For as moche as he myght suffre to be reproveid and  
taught of hym In lyke wyse was somtyme a kynge in  
Babiloine that was named Emmerodach a yolpe man  
with oute justice and so cruell that he dyde do hewe his  
faders body in thre hundred pieces / And gaf hit to ete  
and deuour to thre hundred birdes that men calle wultres  
And was of suche condicion as was Nero / And right  
well resemblid and was lyke vnto his fader Nabogoso  
donosor / whiche on a tyme wold do sle alle the sage  
and wyse men of babiloyne / For as moche as they  
coude not telle hym his dreame that he had dreamed on a  
nyght and had forgotten hit lyke as it is wryton in the  
bible in the booke of danieel / Under this kynge than  
Emmerodach was this game and playe of the chesse  
founden / Ther is it that some men wene / that this playe  
was founden in the tyme of the bataylles a hege of troye  
But that is not soo For this playe com to the playes of  
the caldees by dyomedes the grek sayth and refecteth .  
That amonge the philosophes was the most renowned  
playe amonge all other playes / And after that / com this

Ch WRYOTMSLEY

playe in the tyme of Alexandre the grete in to Egipte  
And so vnto alle the parties towards the south / And  
the cause wherfore this playe was so renowned shall be  
sayde in the thirde chapitre .

This seconde chapitre of the first tractate sheweth who  
fonde first the playe of the chesse .

**T**his playe fonde a philosopher of Thorpent  
whiche was namede in Caldee Exerxes or in  
greke philometor / whiche is as moche to saye  
in english as he that loueth justice and mesure / And  
this philosopher was renowned grettly amonge the gre-  
kes and them of Athens whiche were good clerkys  
and philosophers also renowned of theyr compynge This  
philosopher was so iuste and trewe that he had leue  
dye than to lyue longe and be a fals flatterer wth the  
sarde kynge . For whan he behelde the foull and synfull  
lyf of the kynge / And that no man durst blame hym .  
For by his grete cruelte he putte them alle to deth that  
displeid hym / he put hym self in payll of deth / And  
louyd and chees rather to dye than lenger to lyue .  
The euill lyf and diffamed of a kynge is the lyf of a  
cruell beste / And ought not longe to be susteyned / For  
he destroyeth hym that displeith hym / And therfore re-  
herceth valerius that ther was a wise man namede the-  
odore cerem whom his kynge dyde do hange on the crosse  
for as moche as he reprevyd hym of his euill and foull  
lyf And all way as he was in the torment he said to his  
kynge / vpon thy counceyllours and them that ben cladd in  
thy clothynge and robes were more reson that this torment  
shold come / For as moche as they dar not saye to the



The trowth for to do Justice right wysly / of my self I  
make no force whether I dye on the lande or on the wa-  
ter or other wyse 2<sup>d</sup> as who sayth he reachyd not to dye  
for Justice / In lyke wyse as democreon the philosophre  
put out his owen eyen be cause he wold not see that no  
good myght come to the euyl and vicious peple wyth-  
out right And also defortes the philosophre as he went  
toward his deth / his wyf that folowed after hym saide  
that he was dampned to deth wrongfully / than he ans-  
werd and sayd to her / holde thy peas and be styll / hit is  
better and more merytorpe to dye by a wronge and vn-  
rightfull Jugement / than that I had deseruyd to dye.

The thirde chapitre of the first tractate treteth wher-  
fore the playe was founden and maad.

**T**he causes wherfore this playe was founden  
ben thre / the first was for to correcte and repreue  
the kynge. For when this kynge Emilmerodach  
sawe this playe And the barons knyghtes and gentill-  
men of his court playe wyth the philosophre / he merua-  
illed gretly of the beaulte and nouelte of the playe / And  
desired to playe agaynst p<sup>r</sup> philosophre / The philosophre  
answerd and sayd to hym that hit myght not be doon.  
But yf he first lerned the playe / The kynge saide hit was  
reson and that he wold put hym to the payne to lerne hit  
Than the philosophre began to teche hym and to shewe  
hym the maner of the table of the chesse borde and the  
chesse meyne / And also the maners and condicions of a  
kynge of the nobles and of the comun peple and of theyr  
offices and how they shold be touchid and drawen.  
And how he shold amende hym self & become vertuous  
And when this kynge herde that he repreuyd hym / He

demandeð hym vpon payne of deeth to telle hym wher  
fore he had founden and made this playe / And he ans-  
werde my ryght dere lord and kynge / the grettest and  
most thinge that I desire is that thou haue in thy self a glo-  
rious and vertuous spf And that may I not see / but yf  
thou be endoctrinid and well manerd and that had / so  
mayst thou be belouyd of thy peple Thus than I desire yf  
thou haue other gouernement than thou hast had / And  
that thou haue vpon thy self first seignourye and maistreye  
suche as thou hast vpon other by force and not by right.  
Certaynly hit is not ryght that a man be mayster ouer  
other and comandour / whan he can not reuole ner may  
reuole hym self and that his vertues domyne aboue his  
vices / For seignourye by force and wyll may not  
longe endure / Than thus may thou see oon of the causes  
why and wherfore I haue founden and maade this  
playe / whiche is for to correcte and repente the of thy  
tyrumpye and vicious lyuynge / For alle kynges spee-  
ally ought to here her corrygeours or correctours and  
her corrections to holde and kepe in mynde / In lyke wyse  
as Valerius reherceth that the kynge Alexandre had a  
noble and renomede knyght that sayde in repreuynge  
of Alexandre that he was to moche couetous and in  
esperaill of the honours of the world / And sayde to  
hym yf the goddes had maade thy body as greet as is  
thy herte Alle the world <sup>could</sup> not holde the / For thou  
holdest in thy right hande alle the Orient / And in thy  
lyfte hande the occident / syn than hit is so / or thou art  
a god or a man or nought / yf thou be god / doo than  
well and good to the peple as god doth / And take  
not from them that they ought to haue and is thyres.



yf thou be a man / thinke that thou shalt dye / And than  
thou shalt doo noon euill / yf thou be nought forgett thy  
self / ther is no thyng so stronge and ferme / but that  
somtyme a feble thyng casteth down and ouerthrowe hit  
How well that the lyon be the strengest beste / yet som  
tyme a litell birde eteth hym / The seconde cause wherfore  
this playe was founden and maad / was for to kepe  
hym from ydlenesse / wherof senecque saith vnto lucille  
ydlenes wyth oute any ocupacion is sepulture of a man  
lyuyng / and varro saith in his sentences that in lyke wise  
as men goo not for to goo / the same wyse the lyf is not  
gyuen for to lyue but for to doo well and good / And  
therfore secondly the philosopher fonde this playe for to  
kepe the peple from ydlenes / For ther is moche peple .  
Whan so is that they be fortunat in wordly goodes that  
they drawe them to ease and ydlenes wherof cometh  
ofte tymes many euyls and grete spynes And by this  
ydlenes the herte is quenched wherof cometh despera  
cion / The thirde cause is that euery man naturelly desireth  
to knowe and to here nouelties and tydynges / For this  
cause they of attynes studyed as we rede / and for as the  
corporall or bodily sight enpesseth and letteth other  
whyle the knowleche of subtyll thynges / therfore we  
rede that democriton the phylosopher put oute his owen  
eyen / for as moche as he myght haue the better entende  
ment and vnderstondynge / Many haue ben made blynde  
that were grete clerkis in lyke wyse as was dydymus  
bisskop of Alirandye / that how well that he sawe not  
yet he was so grete a clerk / that gregore nazan a saynt  
jerome that were clerkes and maystres to other / came  
for to be his scolers and lerned of hym And samt Anthoine

The grete heremyte cam for to see hym on a tyme / and  
amonge all other thynges / he demanded hym yf he were  
not gretly displeyd that he was blynde and sawe not.  
And he ansuerde that he was gretly abasshidy for that  
he supposyd not that he was not displeyd in that he had  
lost his sight / And saynt Anthonre ansuerde to hym  
meruaple moche that hit displeith the that thou hast lost  
that thyng whiche is comyn betwene the and bestes.  
And thou knowest well that thou hast not loste that  
thyng that is comyn bitwene the and the angellis And  
for this cause forsayd the philosopher entended to put  
away alle penfines and thoughtes / and to thynke only  
on this playe as shall be said a pyere in this booke after.

The seconde tractate / the first chapiter treteth of the  
forme of a kynge of his maners and of his estate.

**T**he kynge must be thus maad. For he must fitte  
in a chaper clothed in purpure / crowned on his  
heede in his ryght hand a ceptre and in the lyfte  
hande an apple of golde / For he is the most grettest and  
hychest in dignyte aboue alle other and most worthy.  
And that is signefied by the corone / For the glorie  
of the peple is the dignite of the kynge / And aboue all  
other the kynge ought to be replenished with vertues  
and of grace / and this signifieth the purpure For in  
lyke wyse as the robes of purpure maketh fayr and be-  
lyfith the body / the same wise vertues maketh the  
soule / he ought alleway thenke on the gouernement  
of the Royame and who hath thadmystracion of  
Justice / And this shuld be by hym self pryncipally.



7-10

Valerius

Fl. Post

griffest

*[Faint handwritten notes]*

the due knewe and vnderstode that / he cam to hym and  
sayd / ne doute the nothyng And swore to hym by his  
fayth / that also well he was and shold be his frende  
fro than forthon as euery he had ben to fore yf he wold  
And thus he respited hym of his deth by his debonaire.  
And in lyke wyse rede we of the kynge pirre to whom  
was reported that they of tarante had said grete vilonye  
of hym. For whiche cause he maade alle them to come to  
fore hym And demanded of them yf they had so sayd.  
Than oon of them answerd and sayd / yf the wyf and  
the childys had not fayllyd / thys langage had ben  
but a jape / In regarde of that we had thought to haue  
doon / Than the kynge began to laugh / for they had con-  
fessed that suche langage as was sayd and spoken  
was by dronkenhip / And for this cause of debonaire  
the peple of tarante toke for a custome that the dronken  
men shold be punysshyd / And the sobre men presed.  
The kynge than thus ought to loue humylte and hate  
falsite after the holy scripture that speketh of euery man  
generally / For the kynge in his royaume representeth  
god / And god is verite / And therefore hym ought to  
saye no thyng but yf hit were veritable and stable.  
Valerius reherceth that Alexandre wyth alle his ooste  
rood for to destroye a cite whiche was namede lap-  
sare / whan than a phylosophre whiche had to name  
Anaximenes whiche had ben to fore maistre & gouer-  
nour of Alexandre herd and vnderstode of his comyn-  
g Cam agayn Alexandre for to desire and requyre of hym.  
And whan he sawe Alexandre he supposid to haue axid  
his requeste / Alexander brake his demande to fore and  
swore to hym to fore he axid ony thyng by his goddes.



That suche thyng as he aride or requyre of hym / he  
wold in no wyse doon / Than the philosopher requyre  
hym to destroye the cite / whan Alexandre understood his  
desire / and the oth that he had maade / he suffred the cite  
to stande and not to be destroyed / For he had leuer doo  
his wyll than to be periured and forsworn and doo aga  
ynst his oth / Quynilian saith that no grete man ne lord  
shold not swere / but where as is grete nede / And that  
the symple parole or worde of a prynce ought to be more  
stable than the oth of a marchant / Alas how kepe the  
prynces their promisses in thise dayes / not only her pro  
mises but their othes her seales and wyrtynge and signes  
of their propre handes / alle fayl eth god amende hit 2c  
A kynge also ought to hate alle cruelte / For we rede  
that neuer yet dyed any pietous persone of euill deth ne  
cruell persone of good deth Therefore recounteth valerius  
that ther was a man named theyle a workeman in me  
tall / that made a boole of coppe and a lityll wyket on  
the side / wherby men myght put in them that shuld be  
brent therm / And hit was maade in suche manere / that  
they that shold be put and enclosed therm shold crye no  
thyng lyke to the wps of a man but of an ore And this  
made he be cause men shold haue the lasse pite of them.  
Whan he had made this boole of copper / he presented hit  
vnto a kynge whiche was callyd philarde that was  
so cruell a tyrant that he delited in no thyng but in cruelte  
And he told hym the condicion of the boole / whan philarde  
herde and vnderstode this / he allowed and preyed moche  
the werke / And after sayde to hym / thou that art more  
cruell than I am / thou shalt assaye a proue first thy psente  
and pest / And so made hym to goo in to the boole and

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dye an euill death. Therefore saith. Quide ther is no thinge  
more reasonable than that a man dye of suche death as he  
purchaseth vnto other. Also the kynge oughte souerainly  
kepe Justice/ whō maketh or kepeth a royaume with oute  
Justice/ of veray force ther muste be grete robberye and  
theft. Therfor reherceth saint Augustyn in a booke which  
is intituled the cyte of god/ that ther was a theef of the  
see named diomedes that was a grete rouar and dide so  
moche harme that the complantes cam to fore Alexander  
whiche dide hym to be taken & brought to fore hym/ and  
he demanded hym wherfore he was so nypous & cruell  
in the see. And he answered to hym agayn/ for as moche  
as thou art oon a lande in the world/ so am I another in  
the see/ but for as moche as the euill p<sup>r</sup> I doo is in oon galeye  
or tweyne therfore I am callyd a theef/ but for as moche  
as thou dost in many shippis and with grete p<sup>r</sup>ssance  
and power/ therfore art thou callyd an emperour/ but yf  
fortune were for me in suche wyse/ I wold be come a  
good man and better than I now am/ but thou/ the more  
richer and fortunat that thou art / the more worse art  
thou/ Alexander sayd to hym I shall change thy fortune  
in suche wyse as thou ne saye/ that thou shalt doo hit by  
pouerte / but for euill and mauaiste / And so he made  
hym ryche / And thys was he that afterwarde was a  
good pryncce and a good Justicer / The kynge oughte to  
be souerainly chaste/ And this signefieth a quene that is  
only on his ryght syde. For hit is to be beleuyd and cre-  
dible that whan the kynge is a good man Juste. trewe &  
of good maners and condicions / that his children shall  
folowe gladly the same/ for a good sone & a trewe ought  
not to forsake a good f<sup>r</sup>o p<sup>r</sup> good condicions of his fader.



For certes hit is agaynst god and nature in partie when  
a man taketh other than his propre wyf / And that see  
we by birdes / of whom the male and female haue to gy- condox  
der the charge in keepynge and norissynge of their yonge  
fowles and birdis / For some maner of fowles kepen so - h. r. e. p. r. e.  
f. e. m. a. l. e. h. y. p. e.  
f. e. m. a. l. e.  
them to theyr femelles only / As hit appereth by starkes  
dowues and turtles / But tho fowles that norissith not  
their birdes haue many wyues and femelles / As the cock  
that no thyng norissith his chickens / And therefore  
amonge alle the bestes that been / Man and woman  
putteth most theyr entente and haue moste cure & charge  
in norissynge of their children / And therefore doon they  
agaynst nature in partye when they leue theyr wyues for  
other women / Of this chastete referceth valerius an ex-  
ample and saith that ther was a man of rome which  
was named scipio affrican For as moche as he had con-  
querd affricque how well that he was of rome born. scipio aff  
When he was of .xxviii. yer of age he conquerd cartage  
And toke moche peple in Ostage / Amonge whom he  
was presented wyth a right fair mayde for his solas  
and playse which was assurid and handfast vnto a  
noble yong gentill man of cartage which was named  
Indimcible / And anon as this gentill scipio knewe that  
Notwithstandyng that he was a prynce noble & lusty  
Wyde do calle anon the parents and kynnesmen of them  
And deliuerid to them their doughter wyth oute doyng of  
ony vilonye to her / and p<sup>r</sup> raenson or gold that they had  
ordeyned for their doughter / gaf hit euery dele in dowaire  
to her And the yong man that was her husbonde sawe  
the fraunchise and gentilnes of hym / tored hym self  
and the hertes of the noble peple vnto the loue & alliance

Inquid of  
pudicia  
epigat q  
Ephibea

of the romayns / And this suffiseth as to wechynge the  
kynges 24.

The seconde chapitre of the seconde booke treteth of the  
forme and maners of the Quene.

**T**hus ought the Quene be maade / she ought to  
be a fair lady sittynge in a chayer and crowned  
wyth a corone on her hede and cladde wyth a  
cloth of golde & a mantyll aboue furrid wyth ermynes  
And she shold sitte on the lyfte syde of the kyng for the  
amplections and embrasyng of her husbonde / lyke as it  
is sayde in scripture in the canticles / her lyfte arme shall  
be vnder my hede And her ryght arme shall be clappe  
and embrace me / In that she is sette on his lyfte syde is  
by grace gauen to the kyng by nature and of ryght.

*And better is to haue a kyng by succession than by elec-  
tion / For oftentimes the electours and chosers can not  
ne wyll not accorde / And so is the election left / And  
otherwhyle they chese not the beste and most able and  
conuenient / but hym that they best loue / or is for them  
most proffitable / But whan the kyng is by signage  
and by trewe succession / he is taught enserued and  
nourishid in his yongth in alle good & vertuous tractes  
and maners of his fader / And also the prynces of the  
royaume dar not so hardily meue warre agaynst a kyng  
haupinge a sone for to regne after hym And so a Quene  
ought to be chaste. wyse. of honest peple / well manerd  
and not curyous in nourishynge of her children / her  
wysedom ought not only tapper in feet and werkes  
but also in spekyng that is to wete that she be secrete  
and telle not suche thynges as ought to be holden se-  
crete / Wherefore it is a comyn prouerbe that*



that women can kepe no counceple Ande accordyng thereto  
Macrobe referrcth in the booke of the dreames of Scipio.  
That ther was a childe of rome that was namede papi-  
rus that on a tyme went with his fader whiche was a  
senatour in to the chambre where as they helde their coun-  
ceyll Ande that tyme they spak of suche maters as was  
comandede and agreede shold be kept secreete vpon payn of  
their lyes Ande so departed Ande when he was comen  
home from the senatoire ande fro the counceyll with his  
fader / his moder demandede of hym what was the coun-  
ceyll ande wherof they spak ande had tarpede so longe  
there Ande the childe answered to her ande sayde he durst  
not telle ner saye hit for so moche as hit was defendede  
vpon payn of deeth Than was the moder more desirous to  
knowe than she was to fore / Ande began to flattere hym  
one tyme Ande afterwarde to menace hym that he shold  
saye ande telle to her what hit was Ande when the childe  
sawe that he might haue no reste of his moder in no wise  
He made her first promise that she shold kepe hit secreete  
Ande to telle hit to none of the worlde / Ande that doon he  
fayned a lesing or a lye ande sayde to her / that the sena-  
tours had in counceyll a grete question ande difference  
whiche was this / whether hit were better ande more for  
the comyn wele of rome / that a man shold haue two  
wpyes / or a wpyf to haue two husbondes / Ande when  
she had vnderstonde this / he defendede her that she shold  
telle hit to none other body Ande after this she wente to  
her gossyb ande tolde to her this counceyll secretly / Ande  
she tolde to an other / Ande thus euery wpyf tolde hit to  
other in secreete Ande thus hit happend anone after that  
alle the wpyes of rome cam to the senatorye where the

Macrobius  
I. i. c. xvi.  
p. 10.

senatours were assembled / And cryed wyth an hie  
voys / that they had leuer / and also hit were better for  
the comyn wele that a wyf shold haue two husbondes  
than a man two wyues / The senatours heyringe this  
were gretly abasshid and wist not what to saye / ner  
how to answeere / tyll at laste that the childe papire refer-  
red to them all the caas and feet how hit was happend  
And whan the senatours herd & vnderstood the mater  
they were gretly abasshid / and comended gretly þe Iuge-  
nye & wytte of the childe that so wisely contriued the lye  
rather than he wolde discouere their couceyll / And forth-  
with made hym a senatour / and establisshid & ordeyned  
fro than forthon that no childe in ony wise sholl entre in  
to þe couceyll hous amonge them with their faders exept  
papirus / Whome they wold þe shold al wey be among  
them / also a quene ought to be chaste / for as she is aboue  
all other in astate & reuerence so shold she be ensample to  
all other in her liuyng honestly / wherof Jerome reherceth  
agaynst Ionnyan / that ther was a gentilsman of rome  
named duele / and this man was he þe first fonde þe iuaner  
to fight on þe water / and had first victorie / this duele had  
to his wif one of the best women & so chaste / that euery  
woman might take ensample of her / And at þe tyme the  
spyme of the flesshe was the grettest spyme þe ony might  
do agaynst nature / And this sayde good woman was  
named elpe / and so hit happend that this duele becom so  
olde that he stowped & quaqued for age And on a tyme  
one of his aduersaries reprovde & reprochid hym sayng  
that he had a stynkyng breth / And forthwyth he wente  
home to his wyf alle angry and abasshid and a ryde  
her why and wherfore she had not told his faulte



to hym that he myght haue founden remedye to haue ben  
purgide therof / And she answered that as for as moche  
as she supposide that every man had that same faute as  
well as he. For she kyst neuer any mannes mouth but  
her husbondes / O moche was this woman to be pre-  
sed: & haue a singuler lawode wenynge that this defaulte  
had not ben only in her husbond / wherfore she suffrid  
hit patiently in such wyse that her husbond knewe his  
defaulte somer by other than by her / Also we rede that  
ther was a wedowe named anna / whiche had a frende  
that counceyllid her to marie / For she was yong fayr  
and riche / to whom she answered that she wold not so  
doe in no wise. For yf I shold haue an husbond as I haue  
had and that he were as good as he was / I shold euer  
ben a ferde to lose hym / lyke as I lost that other / And  
than shold I lyue all wey in fere & drede / whiche I wyl  
not And yf hit happend me to haue a woore / what shold  
hit prouffite me to haue an euyl husbond after a good.  
And so she concluded that she wold kepe her chastete.

Saynt Austyn reherceth in the booke de Ciuitate dei that  
in rome was a noble lady gentill of maners & of hygh  
kynde named lucrecia / And had an husbond named  
collatyn / whiche desired on a tyme the Empours sone  
named Torquyne thorgyllous or the proude and he was  
callid hit for to come dyne and sporte hym in his castell  
or manoir And whan he was entrid amonge many no-  
ble ladies he sawe lucrecia / And whan this Empours  
sone had seen & aduertised her depautes. her contenance.  
her manere. and her beaulte / he was all rauyschid and  
esprised wth her loue forth wth And espyed a tyme  
whan her husbond collatyn wente vnto the ooste of

the mpour / and cam to the place where as lucreſſe was  
with her ſelawſhip / whom ſhe receyvyd honorabily / and  
whan tyme came to goo to bedde and ſleepe ſhe made redy  
a bedde ryally for hym as hit apperteyned to the empe  
rours ſone And this ſirtus eſpyed where lucreſſia laye .  
And whan he ſuppoſyd a knewe that every body was  
in his fiſt ſleep / he cam to the bedde of lucreſſe and that  
oon hand ſette on her breſte and in that other hand a na  
ked ſwerd / and ſayd to her / lucreſſe holde thy pees and  
ceyfe not / For I am ſirte tarquynus ſone / for yf þu ſpeke  
ony worde thou ſhalt be dede / And for ſere ſhe held her  
pees / Than he began to praye and promiſe many thinges  
And after he menaced a thretenyd her that ſhe ſhould  
enclpne to hym to do his wyll / And whan he ſawe he  
coude ner myght haue his entent he ſayd to her yf thou do  
not my wyll / I ſhall ſlee the and oon of thy ſeruantes  
and ſhall leye hym all dede by thy ſpde And than I ſhall  
ſaye that I haue ſlayn you for your rybawdye / And  
lucreſſe that than doubted more the ſhame of the world  
than the dethe consentid to hym / And anone after as the  
Empours ſone was departid / the ladye ſente lres to her  
huſbond her fader her brethern a to her frendes / and to a  
man callid brute conceyllour a newwe to tarquyn / And  
ſayd to them / that yeſterday ſirte the empours ſone cam  
in to myn hous as an enemye in likenes of a frende / a hath  
oppreſſid me And knowe þu colatyn that he hath diſhono  
rid thy bedde And how well þu he hath fowled a diſho  
nored my body / yet myn herte is not / wherefore I beſeeche  
the of pardon foryſnes a abſolucion of the trespas but not  
of the payne / and he þu hath doon this ſynne to me hit ſhall  
ben to his meſchance yf ye doo pour deuoir / And be cauſe



no woman take ensample of hircesse and lye after the  
trespaas/ But that she m lyke wyse take ensample also of  
the payne And forthwyth wyth a swerde that she helde  
vnder her gown or robe / she roof her self vnto the herte  
And deyde forthwyth to fore them / And than brute the  
counseiller And her husbond collatyn and alle her other  
frendes swore by the blood of hircesse that they wold  
neuer reste vnto the tyme that they had put out of rome  
tarquyn and alle his hignee / And that neuer after none  
of them shold come to dignite / And alle this was doon.  
For they bare the dede corpe thurgh the cyte and meupde  
the peple m fuche wyse / that tarquyn was put m exyle  
And herte his sone was slayn / A Quene ought to be  
well manerd and amonge alle she ought to be tumerous  
and shamefast; For whan a woman hath losse shame  
fastnes / she may ner can not well be chaast / Wherefore  
saith symachus that they that ben not shamefast haue no  
conscience of hururye / And saynt Ambrose saith that  
oon of the best parements and maketh a woman most  
fayr m her persone is to be shamefast / Senecque refer  
ceth that ther was oon named Archezille whiche was  
so shamefast That she put m a pelow of fethers a certain  
some of money / and put hit vnder þe fether of a pour frende  
of hertes / whiche dissimuled his pouerte and wold not  
ner durst not be a knowen of his pouerte. For for shame  
she durst not gyue hit openly / but had leuer that he shold  
fynde hit / than that she had gyuen hit hym / wherefore  
otherwhile men shold gyue a helpe her frendes so secretly  
That they knowe not whens hit come / For whan we  
kepe hit secret and make no boost therof / our dedes and  
werkes shall plesse god and them also / A Quene ought

to be chosen when he shall be wedded of the most ho-  
nourable kynrede and peple / For oftentimes the daughters  
folowen the traiches and maners of them that they ben  
descended from / wherof Valerius maximus sayth that  
ther was one that wold marrye / whiche cam to a philo-  
sopher and a ryght counceyll what wif he myght best take  
He answered that he shold take her that thou knowe  
certaynly that her moder and her graunt dame haue ben  
chaast and well condicioned / For suche moder / suche  
daughter comunely / Also a quene ought to teche her chil-  
dren to ben contynent and kepe chastyte entperly / as hit is  
wreton in ecclesiastes / yf thou haue sones enseigne and  
teche them / And yf thou haue daughters kepe well them  
in chastyte / For helemonde reherceth that euery kynge a  
prynce ought to be a clerke for to comande to other to  
stудye and rede the lawe of our lord god / And ther-  
fore wrote the emperour to the kynge of france that he  
shold doo lerne his children sones the seven sciences  
lyberall / And saide amonge other thynges that a kynge  
not lettryd resembleth an asse coroned / The emperour  
Octavian maad his sones to be taught and lerne to  
swyme . to sprynge and lepe . to iuste . to playe wth  
the axe and swerde / And alle maner thyng that ap-  
perteyneth to a knyght / And his daughters he made  
hem to lerne . to sewe . to spynne . to labour as well  
in wolle as in linnen cloth / And alle other werkis  
langynge to women And when his frendes demanded  
wherfore he dyde so / he answered how well that he  
was lord and syre of alle the world / yet wyfte he not  
what shold befall of his children and whether they  
shold falle or come to pouerte or noo / and therefore



if they conne a good craft they maye alleway lye honestly / The Quene ought to kepe her daughters in alle chastite / For we rede of many maydens that for their virginite haue ben made quenes / For poule the historia graph of the lombardes referceth þ̃ ther was a duchesse named remonde whiche had .iii. sones & two daughters And hit happend that the kyng of hongrye cantanus assaylled a castell where she & her children were yme And on a day she behelde her enemyes And amonge all other she sawe the kyng that he was a well faryng and goodly man / Anone she was esprised and taken wyth his loue / And that so sore / that forthwith she sent to hym that she wold deliure ouer the castell to hym if he wold take her to his wyf and wedde her And he agreed therto / and sware that he wold haue her to his wyf on that condicion / whan than the kyng was in the castell / his peple toke men and women and alle that they fonde / her sones fledde from her / of whom one was named Ermoaldus and was yongest / and after was duc of boneuentan / And syn kyng of the lombardis . And the two susters toke chickens And put hem vnder her armes next the flesshe and bytwene her pappes / that of the heete & chaffyng the flesshe of the chickens stynke . And whan so was that they of hongrye wold haue enforced & defowled hem anone they felte the stynche and fledde away and so lefte hem sayng / fy how these lombardes stynke / and so they kept their virginite / wherfore that one of them after ward was Quene of france And that other Quene of Aleman / And hit happend than that the kyng Catanus toke a cordinge to his promyse the duchesse / and laye with her one nyght for to saue his oth

And on the moyn he made her comune vnto alle the hon-  
grea / And the thirde day after he dyde doo put a staf of  
tre fro the nether part of her / thurgh her body vnto her  
throate or mouth / for be cause of the lust of her flessh  
she betrayed her cyte and sayde suche husbonds / suche  
wyf 2c And this sufficeth of the Quene.

The thirde chapitre of the seconde tractate treteth of  
the alphys her offices and maners .

**T**he Alphys ought to be made and formed in  
manere of Judges settynge in a chaper wyth a  
book open to fore their eyen / And that is be cause  
that some causes ben crymyness / And some ben cyrle  
as aboute possessyons and other temporell thynges  
and trespasses / And therfore ought to be two Judges  
in the royaume / one in the black for the first cause / And  
that other in whyte as for the seconde / Theyr office is  
for to counceyl the kynge / And to make by his coman-  
dements good lawes And to enforme alle the royaume  
in good and vertuous maners / And to iuge and grue  
sentence well and truly after the mas is had / And to  
counceyl well and justely alle them that are counceyl  
of hem / wyth oute haupnge of ony eye opene to ony  
persone / And to estudye diligently in suche wyse and  
to ordeyne alle that that ought to be kept be obseruyde  
be faste and stable / So that they be not founde corrupt  
for yest for fauour ne for lignage ne for enye variable  
And as touchynge the first poynt Senecue sayth in  
the book of benefetes that the poure Diogenes was  
more stronge than Alexander / For Alexander coude  
not gyue so moche as Diogenes wold refuse.



Marcus curfus a romayn of grete renome sayth thus :  
That whan he had besieged & assailed them of samente  
And bonaventans whiche herde that he was poure / they  
toke a grete masse and wegghe of gold and sende hit  
to hym prayng hym that he wold reserue hit and leue  
his assault and sieg / And whan they cam with the pres  
ent to hym they fonde hym sittynge on the erthe and ete  
his mete out of platres and disshes of tree and of wode  
and dyde than her message / to whom he answered and  
sayde that they shold goo home and saye to them that  
sente hem that marcus curfus loueth better to be lord and  
wyne riches than riches shold wyne hym / For  
by bataylle he shall not be overcome and varyquy / This  
Nor be gold ne siluer he shall not be corrupt ne corompid  
Often tymes that thyng taketh an euill ende that is vns  
trewe for gold and siluer / And that a man is subgett  
vnto money may not be lord therof / Helimond refereth  
that demoscene demanded of aristodone how moche he  
had wonne for pletynge of a cause for his clyent / And  
he answered a march of gold / Demoscenes answered to  
hym agayn that he had wonne as moche for to hold his  
pees and speke not Thus the tonges of aduocates and  
men of lawe ben pylous and domegeable / yet they must  
be had yf thou wilt wyne thy cause for wyth money  
and yest thou shalt wyne And of tetymes they selle as  
welle theyr scilence / as theyr vtterance / Valerius refer  
eth that the senatours of rome toke counceyll to geder  
of two persones that one was poure / And that other  
riche and couetous / whiche of hem bothe were most apte  
for to sende to gouerne and iuge the contre of spayne / and  
scipion of affricque sayde that none of them bothe were

scipio of aff  
ricque  
that none of  
them bothe  
were

good: ner prouffitable to be sente theder / For that one  
hath no thyng And to that other may nothyng suffice  
And despised in his saynge alle pouerte and auerice in a  
Juge: For a couetous man hath nede of an halspeny For  
he is seruant a bonde vnto money / and not lord therof.  
But pouerte of herte a of wyll ought to be gretly also  
wed in a Juge Therefore we rede that as longe as the ro-  
mayns loupd pouerte they were lordes of all the world  
For many ther were that exposed alle their goodes for  
the comyn wele and for that was most prouffitable for  
the comynaulte that they were so poure that whan they  
were dede they were buryed a brought to erthe with the  
comyn good: / And their doughters were maried by the  
comandement of the senatours / But syn that they despi-  
sed pouerte / And begonne to gadre rycheses / And  
haue maad grete batayles / they haue vsed many synnes  
And so the comyn wele perissid: / For there is no  
synne but that it regneth there / Ther is none that is so  
synfull as he that hath alle the world in despyte / For  
he is in pees that dredeth no man / And he is ryche that  
couerteth no thyng / Valere reherceth that he is not  
ryche that moche hath / But he is ryche that hath lypyl  
and couerteth no thyng / Than thus late the Juges take  
hede that they endyne not for loue or for hate in any  
Jugement / For theophrast saith that alle loue is blynde  
ther loue is / ther can not ryght Jgement be gauen / For  
alle loue is blynde And therefore loue is none curyn Juge  
For ofte tymes loue Jugeth a fowll a lothly woman  
to be fayr And so reherceth quyntr curse in his first booke  
that the grete Godaches sayth the same to Alexandre



men may saye in this case that nature is euyl. For every  
man is lasse auyse and worse in his owne feet and cause  
than in an other mans / And therefore the Iuges ought to  
kepe hem well from pre in Iugement / Tullius sayth that  
an angry & prous pson weneth that for to doo euyl / is  
good councell / and socrates saith p. ii. thinges ben con  
traryous to couceill / and they ben hastynes & wrath / and  
Galeren sayth in Alexandre / yf pre or wrath ouercome  
the whan thou sholdest geue Iugement / weye all thinge  
in p balance so that thy Iugement be not enclyned by loue  
ne by pette / ne fauour of persone to ne not thy corage.  
Helemond referceth that Cambyses kynge of perse  
whiche was a rightwys kynge had an vnrightwys  
Iuge / whiche for enye and euyl will had dampned  
a man wrongfully and agaynst right / wherefore he dide  
hym to be slain all quyk / and made the chayer or siege of  
Iugement to be couerd wyth his skyn / And made his  
sone Iuge and to sitte in the chayer on the skyn of his fa  
der / to thende that the sone shold Iuge rightwysly / And  
abhorre the Iugement & payne of his fader / Iuges ought  
to punyshe the defaultes egally And full fille the lawe  
that they ordeyne / Caton sayth accomplishe and do the  
lawe in suche wyse as thou hast ordeyned and gauen.  
Valerius referceth that Calengius a consull had a sone  
whiche was taken in aduoltrye. And therefore after  
the lawe at that tyme he was dampned to lose bothe his  
eyen The fader wold p the lawe shold be accomplisshid  
in his sone with out fauour / but all the cyte was meupd  
herewyth And wold not suffre hit / but in the ende his fa  
der was varyquysshid by theyr prayers / And ordeyned  
that his sone shold lese oon eye whiche was put oute

And he hym self lost an other ere / And thus was the  
lawe obserued and kept / And the prayer of the peple  
was accomplisshid / We rede þ̄ ther was a counceyllour  
of rome that had given counceill to make a statute / that  
who some euer that entrid m to the senatoire / a swerde  
girt aboute hym shold be ded / Than hit happende on a  
tyme that he cam from with out and entrid m to the sena  
toire a his swerde girt aboute hym / wherof he took non  
fede / and on of the senatours told hym of hit / and whan  
he knewe hit a remembred the statute / he drew oute his  
swerde a steeve hym self to fore them / rather to dye than  
to breke the lawe / for whos deth all the senatours made  
grette sorowe / but alas we fynde not many m thise dayes  
that soo doo / but they doo lyke as anasthys saith that the  
lawes of some ben lyke vnto the nettis of spynecoppis that  
take no grette bestes a fowles but lete goo a flee thurgh .  
But they take flies a gnattes a such small thynges / In  
lyke wise the lawes now a dayes ben not executed but  
vpon the poure peple / the grette and riche breke hit a goo  
thurgh with all And for this cause souden bataylles a  
discordes / and make þ̄ grette a riche men to take by force  
and strengthe lordshippis a seignouries vpon the small a  
poure peple . And this doon they specially that ben gentill  
of lignage a poure of goode . And causeth them to robbe  
and reue And yet cōstrayned them by force to serue them  
And this is no meruayll / for they that drede not to angre  
god / ner to breke the lawe and to false hit / shalle often  
tymes by force m moche cursednes and wikkidnes / but  
whan þ̄ grette peple doo acordinge to þ̄ lawe / and punyssh  
the transgressours sharply The comyn peple abstayne and  
withdrawe hem fro dooing of euill / and chastiseth hem



self by theyr example / And the Judges ought to entende  
for to studie / for þe pf symthes the carpentiers þe vignours  
and other craftsmen saye that it is most necessarpe to  
stude for the comyn prouffit And glorifye them in their  
comynge and saye that they ben prouffitable Than shold  
the Judges studie and contemlaure moche more than they  
in that / that shold be for the comyn wele / wherefore sayth  
senekke beleue me that they seme that they do no thyng  
they doo more than they that labour. For they doo spiri-  
tuell and also corporall werkis / and therfore amonge  
Artificers ther is no plesant reste / But that reson of the  
Judges hath maade and ordeyned hit / And therfore ange-  
lus in libro actiui attriatorum de socrate sayth That so-  
crates was on a tyme so pensyff that in an houle naturell  
daye / He helde one estate that he ne meupd mouth ne eye  
ne foote ne hande but was as he had ben dede rauysht.  
And when one demanded hym wherefore he was so pena-  
syff / he answerd in alle worldly thynges and labours  
of the same And helde hym bourgoys and cytezen of the  
world And valerius rehcereth that arnardes a knyght  
was so sage wyse and laborous in pensifnes of the com-  
yn wele / that when he was sette at table for to ete / he  
forgotte to put his hande vnto the mete to fede hym self.  
And therfore his wyf þe was namede mellise whom he  
had taken more to haue her compaignie & fellowship than  
for any other thyng. Fedde hym to thende that he shold  
not dye for hunger in his pensifnes / Dydimus sayd to  
Alexandrie we ben not deynseyne in the world but stran-  
gers / ne we ben not born in the world for to dwell and  
abide all way thern / but for to goo and passe thurgh  
hit / we haue doen noon euill dede / but that it is worthy

to be punysshid and we to suffre payne therfore And  
than we may goon with opyn face and good conscience  
And so may we goo lightly and apertly the waye  
that we hope and purpose to goo This suffiseth as for  
the Alphons.

The fourth chapitre of the seconde booke treteth of the  
ordre of cheualerye and knyghthode and of her offices  
and maners.

**O** The knyght ought to be made alle armed vpon  
an hors in suche wyse that he haue an helme on  
his heed and a spere in his ryght hande and coue  
ryd wyth his sheld; a swerde and a mace on his lyft  
syde / Cladd wyth an harnock and plates to fore his  
breste / legges harnops on his legges / Spores on his heeles  
on his handes his gauntelettes / his hors well broken  
and taught and apte to bataylle and couerid with his  
armes / whan the knyghtes ben maad they ben bayned  
or bathed / that is the signe that they shold lede a newe  
lyf and newe maners / also they make alle the nyght in  
prayers and orysones vnto god that he wyll graue hem  
grace that they may gete that thyng that they may not  
gete by nature / The kynge or pryncce gyrdeth a boute  
them a swerde in signe / that they shold abyde and kepe  
hym of whom they take theyr dispenses and dignyte.  
Also a knyght ought to be wise. liberall. true. stronge  
and full of mercy and pite and kepar of the peple and  
of the lawe / And ryght as cheualerye passeth other in  
vertu in digmite in honour and in reuerence. right so ought  
he to surmounte alle other in vertu / For honour is no  
thyng ellis but to do reuerence to an other pson for p good  
a vertuous disposicion p is in hym / A noble knyght ought



to be wyse and pryncyde to fore he be made knyght/hit be  
hounded hym that he had longe tyme vnder the warre and  
armes / that he may be expert and wyse for to gouerne  
the other. For syn that a knyght is capytayn of a batayll  
The lpf of them that shall be vnder hym lyeth in his hande  
And therefore behoueth hym to be wyse and well aduysed  
for some tyme arte craft and engyne is more worth  
than strengthe or hardynes of a man that is not proued  
in Armes / For otherwhyle hit happeth that when the  
pryncce of the batayll affieth and trusteth in his hardynes  
and strength And wole not vse wysedom and engyne  
for to reime vpon his enemyes/he is vanyquysshid and  
his peple slayn / Therefore saith the philosopher that no  
man shold chese yong peple to be capytayns & gouernours  
For as moche as ther is no certainte in her wysedom.  
Alexandre of macedone vanyquysshid and conquerid  
Egypte Jude Caldee Affricque / and Assyre vnto the  
marches of bragmans more by the counceyll of olde men  
than by the strength of the yong men/we rede in the histo  
rye of rome þ ther was a knyght whiche had to name  
malechete that was so wyse and trewe that when the  
Empour Theodosius was dede / he made mortall warre  
ayens his broder germain whiche was named Gild  
or Guye. For as moche as this said guye wold be lorde  
of affricque with out leue and wyll of the senatours.  
And this said guye had slayn the two sones of his bro  
der malechete / And dide moche torment vnto the cristen  
peple And afore that he shold come in to the felde ayens  
his broder Empon/he wente in to an yle of mayre And  
ladde with hym alle the cristen men that had ben sente the  
re in Exyle And made hem alle to praye wyth hym by

the space of thre dayes & thre nyghtis / For he had grete  
truste in the prayers of good folk / & specially that noman  
myght counceyll ne helpe but gode / and .iii. dayes to fore  
he shold fight saynt Ambrose whiche was dede a litle  
to fore apperid to hym / and shewde hym by reuelacion the  
tyme & our that he shold haue victorie / and for as moche  
as he had ben .iii. dayes and .iii. nyghtes in his prayers &  
that he was asswerid for to haue victorie / He faught  
with .v. thousand men apenst his broder þ had in his com  
panye .xxiii. thousand men And by goddes helpe he had  
victorie And whan the barbarys þ were comen to helpe  
guion sawe þ disconfiture they fledde away / and guion  
fledde also in to affricque by shipp / and whan he was ther  
arrived he was sone after stranglid / These .ii. knyghtes  
of whom I speke were two brethern germanys whiche  
were sent to affricque for to defende the comyn weele / In  
likewise Judas machabe<sup>e</sup> Jonathas & symon his brethern  
put hem self in the mercy and garde of our lord gode And  
agayn the enemyes of the lawe of gode with litell peple  
in regard of the multitude that were agayn them / and had  
also victorie / The knyghtes ought to ben trewe to there  
princes / for he that is not trewe leseth þ name of a knyght  
Wnto a prince trouth is the grettest precious stone whan  
it is medlid with justice / Paule the historiagraph of the  
lombardes relereth that ther was a knyght named enul  
phus and was of the cyte of paype that was so trewe  
to his kynge named patharich / that he put hym in parill  
of deth for hym / For hit happend that Germalde Duc  
of buuentayns of whom we haue touchid to fore in the  
chapitre of the Quene / Dyde do see Godebert whiche  
was kynge of the lombardes by the hande of Gonbert



duc of Tauryn / whiche was disceded of the crowne  
of lombardis And this grimald was nidadz kynge of  
lombardis in his place / and after this put a bampsshidz  
out of the contrey this patharich whiche was broder  
vnto the kynge Godebert / that for fere and drede fledd in  
to hongrye / And than this knyght Enulphus dide so  
moche that he gate the peas agayn of his lordz patharich  
agaynst the kynge grimalde / and that he had licence to  
come out of hongrye where he was all wey in paryss.  
and so he cam and cryed hym mercy And the kynge gr  
malde gaf hym leue to dwelle and to lyue honestly in his  
contree / all way forseen that he toke not vpon hym and  
namede hym self kynge / how well he was kynge by right  
This doon a litill while after / the kynge that beleupd  
euyl tonges / thought in hym self how he myght brynge  
this patharich vnto the deth And alle this knewe well  
the knyght enulphus / whiche cam the same nyght with  
his squyer for to visite his lord And made his squyer to  
vnclothe hym and to lye in the bedde of his lord And made  
his lord to ryse and clothe hym with the clothis of his  
squier / And in this wyse brought hym out / browlyng  
and betynge hym as his seruant by them that were assig  
ned to kepe the hows of patharich y he shold not escape  
Whiche supposid that hit had ben his squyer that he en  
tred so outrageously / and so he brought hym to his hows  
whiche joyned with the walles of the town / And at  
mydnyght whan alle men were a sleepe / he lete a down  
his maistre by a corde / whiche toke an hors oute of the  
pasture And fled vnto the cyte of Aast and ther cam to  
the kynge of fraunce / And whan hit cam vnto the morn.  
It was founden that Arnolphus and his squyer had

dererupde the kynge and the wachemen / Whom the kynge  
comandede shold be brought to fore hym And demandede  
of them the maner how he was escapede And they tolde  
hym the trouthe / Than the kynge demandede his counceyll  
of what deth they had deseru'de to dye that had so don  
and wroughte agayn the wyll of hym / Some sayde  
that they shold be hang'd / and some sayde they shold  
be slayn And other sayde that they shold be beheaded.  
Than sayde the kynge by that lord that made me / they be  
not worthy to dye / but for to haue moche worship and  
honour / For they haue ben trewe to theyr lord / wherefore  
the kinge gaf hem a grette lawde and honour for their feet  
And after hit happend that the propre squyer and ser  
uant of godeberd / Sewe the traytre Goribalde that by  
trayson had slayn his lord at a feste of seynt John in his  
Cyte of Tauryn wherof he was lord and duc / Thus  
ought the knyghtes to loue to gyder / And eche to put  
his lpf in auenture for other / For so ben they the stronger  
And the more doubted / Lyke as were the noble knygh  
tes Joab and Abygay that foughte agaynst the serpens  
and Amomytes / And were so trewe that oon to that  
other that they vaynequysshid theyr enemies And were  
so joynd to gyder that yf the serpens were stronger than  
that one of them / that other helpe hym / We rede that damon  
and phisias were so ryght parfyte frendes to gyder that  
whan Diomitus whiche was kynge of cecylle had ju  
ged one to deth for his trespass in the cyte of syracusane  
whom he wold haue executed / he desired grace and leue  
to goo in to hys contrey for to dispose and ordonne his tes  
tament / And his felawe pleggid hym and was sworte  
for hym vpon his hedy that he shold come agayn .



Wherof they that sawe a herde this / helde hym for a fool  
and blamed hym / And he saide all way that he repentid  
hym nothyng at all / For he knewe well the trouthe of  
his felawe And when the day cam and the our that exe  
cution shold be doon / his felawe cam and presented hym  
self to fore the Juge / And dischargid his felawe that  
was plegge for hym / wherof the kynge was gretly abas  
shid And for the grette trouthe that was founden in hym  
He pardonid hym and prayid hem bothe that they wold  
reserue hym as their grette frende and felawe / Lo here the  
vertues of loue that a man ought nought to doute the  
deth for his frende / Lo what it is to doo for a frende / And  
to lede a lyf delonayr And to be wyth out cruelte / to loue  
and not to hate / which e causeth to doo good apenst euill  
And to tozne payne in to benefete and to quench the cruelte  
Anthonyus sayth that Julius Cesar / lefte not lightly  
frenshippe and Amptye / But when he had hit he reter  
ned hit faste and mapteyned hit alleway / Scipion of  
Affricque sayth that ther is no thyng so stronge / as for  
to maptene loue vnto the deth The loue of concupiscence  
and of lecherie is sone dissoluyd and broken / But the  
verray true loue of the comyn wele and prouffit now a  
dayes is selde founden / where shall thou fynde a man in  
thys dayes that wyll expose hym self for the worshippe  
and honour of his frende / or for the comyn wele / selde or  
neuer shall he be founden / Also the knyghtes shold be  
large and liberall / For when a knyght hath regarde vnto  
his singuler prouffit by his couetyse / he disposseth his  
peple / For when the souldyours see that they putte hem  
in payll . And theyr mayster wyll not paye hem theyr  
wages liberally / but entendeth to his owne propre gayn

and prouffyt / than when the Enemyes come they torne  
sone her backes and flee oftentimes / And thus hit hap-  
peth by hym that entendeth more to gete money than victo-  
rye that his auarice is ofte tymes cause of his confusion.  
Than late euery knyght take heed to be liberall in suche  
wyse that he wene not ne suppose that his scarcete be to  
hym a grette wyunnyng or geyn / And for thys cause he  
be the lasse lounde of his peple / And that his aduersarye  
wythdrawe to hym them by large geuyng / For ofte  
tyme bataylle is auanced more for getyng of siluer.  
Than by the force and strengthe of men / For men see  
alle daye that suche thynges as may not be achieuyd  
by force of nature / Ben gotten and achieuyd by force  
of money / And for so moche hit behoueth to see well  
to that when the tyme of the bataylle cometh / that he  
forowe not ne make no tapllage / For noman may be  
ryche that leuyth his owne / Hoppyng to gete and take  
of other / Than allwaye all her geyn and wyunnyng  
ought to be comyn amonge them except theyr Armes.  
For in lyke wyse as the victorie is comune / so shold  
the dyspoyll and losse be comune vnto them And ther  
fore Dauid that gentyl knyght in the fyrst booke of  
kynges in the last chapitre made a lawe / that he that  
abode behynde by maladye or sekene in the tentes shold  
haue as moche parte of the butyn as he that had be in the  
bataylle / And for the loue of thys lawe he was made  
afterward kyng of Israell / Alexander of Macedone  
cam on a tyme lyke a simple knyght vnto the court of  
Porus kyng of Inde for to espye thestate of the kyng  
and of the knyghtes of the court / And the kyng ressey-  
uyd hym ryght worshipfully / And demanded of hym



many thynges of Alexander and of his constance and  
strengthe/nothyng weynge that he had ben Alexander  
But antygone one of his knyghtis and after he had hym  
to dyner And whan they had seruyd Alexander m vassell  
of gold and siluer with dyuerce metres 2c After that  
he had eten suche as pleased hym he wrode the mete and  
toke the vassell and helde hit to hym self and put hit in  
his bosom or sleups / wherof he was accusid vnto the  
kyng After dyner than the kyng callid hym and deman  
ded hym wherfore he had taken his vassell And he ans  
werd / O my lord I pray the to vnderstande  
and take heed thy self and also thy knyghtes I haue herd  
moche of thy grete hyenes And y thou art more myghty  
and puyssant in cheualrye and in dispensis than is Alexan  
der / and therfore I am come to the a pour knyght whiche  
am named Antygone for to serue the / Than hit is the cus  
tome in the Courte of Alexandre / that what thyng a  
knyght is seruyd wyth all is alle his / mete and vassell  
and cuppe And therfore I had supposid that this custome  
had ben kept in thy court for thou art richer than he / whan  
the knyghtes herd this / anon they lefte porus / and wente  
for to serue alexandre / and thus he drew to hym p hertes  
of them by pestes / whiche afterwarde Newe Porus that  
was kyng of Inde / And they made Alexandre kyng  
therof Therfore remembre knyght alleway that wyth  
a cloid and shette purse shalt thou neuer haue victorie .  
Ouyde sayth that he that taketh pestes / he is gladd ther  
wyth / For they wyne wyth pestes the hertes of the  
goddes and of men For yf Jupiter were angryd / wyth  
pestes he wold be pleased / The knyghtes ought to be  
stronge not only of body but also in corage . Ther ben

many stronge and grete of body / that ben faynt and fe-  
ble in the herte / he is stronge that may not be vanyquys-  
shid and ouercomen / how well that he sufferth moche  
otherwhile / And so we beleue that they that be not ouer  
grete ne ouer lityll ben most courageous & beste in batayll.  
We rede that andrus duc of athenes shold haue a batayll  
agayn them of polipe / And he was warnyd and had a  
reuelacion of the goddes / that they shold haue the victorie  
of whym the pryncce shold be slayn in the batayll / And  
the pryncce whiche was of a grete corage and trewe herte  
Toke other armes of a poure man / And put hym self in  
the fronte of the batayll to thende that he myght be slain  
And so he was / for the right trewe pryncce had leuer dye  
Than his peple shold be ouercomen / And so they had the  
victorie / Certes hys was a noble and fayr thyng to  
expose hym self to the deth for to deffende his contrey.  
But no man wold do so / but yf he hoppyd to haue a bet-  
ter thyng therfore / Therfore the lawe sayth that they  
lyue in her sowles gloriously that ben slain in the warre  
for the comyn wele A knyght ought also to be mercifull  
and pyetous. For ther is nothyng y maketh a knyght  
so renomedy as is whan he sayth the lpf of them that he  
may see. For to shedde handyspylle blood is the condicion  
of a wylde beste and not the condicion of a good knyght  
Therfore we rede that scylla that was Duc of the Ro-  
mayns wythoute had many fayr victories agaynst the  
Romayns wyth june that were contrayre to hym / In  
so moche that in the batayll of puplle he slewe .xviii.  
thousand men / And in champaigne .lxx. thousand.  
And after in the cyte he slewe thre thousand men vnar-  
med And whan one of his knyghtes that was named



Quyntus metellus sawe this cruellte sayd to hym/ **Sesse**  
now and suffre them to lyue and be mercy full to them  
wyth whom we haue ben victorious And wyth whom  
we ought to lyue / For hit is the moste hest and fayr  
vengeance that a man may doo / as to spare them & gyue  
hem her lyf whome he may see Therefore Joab ordeyned  
whan absalon was slayn/ he sowned a trompette/ that  
his peple shold no more reime & see theyr aduersaries.  
For ther were slayn aboute .xx. thousand of them/ and  
in lyke wyse dide he whan he faught ayenst Abner And  
Abner was vanyquysshid and fledde. For wher that  
he wente in the chaas he comanded to spare the peple The  
knyghtes ought to kepe the peple / For whan the peple  
ben in theyr tentes or castellis/ the knyghtes ought to kepe  
the watche / For this cause the romayns callyd them le-  
gyons And they were made of diuerce prouinces and  
of diuerce nacions to thentente to kepe the peple / And  
the peple shold entende to theyr werke / For no crafty  
man may bothe entende to his craft & to fighte how may  
a crafty man entende to hys werke sewerly in tyme of  
warre but yf he be kept And right in suche wyse as the  
knyghtes shold kepe þe peple in tyme of peas in lyke wise  
the peple ought to pourue for theyr dispensis / how  
shold a plowman be sewre in the felde but yf the knygh-  
tes made dayly watche to kepe hem For lyke as the glo-  
rye of a kynge is vpon his knyghtis/ so hit is necessarye  
to the knyghtes that the marchantis craftymen and com-  
mon peple be defended and kepte/ therfore late the knygh-  
tes kepe the peple in suche wyse that they maye enioye  
pees and gete and gadre the costis and expensis of them  
bothe / we rede that Athis sayd to dauid whiche was

a knyght / I make the my kepar and defendar alleway.  
Thus shold the knyghtes haue grete zeile that the lawe be  
kept / For the mageste ryall ought not only to be gar-  
nysshid wyth armes but also wyth good lawes / And  
therfore shold they laboure that they shold be well kept  
Turgeus pompeus reherceth of a noble knyght named  
Ligurgeus that had made auncient lawes the whiche  
the peple wold not kepe ne obserue / For they semed  
hard for them to kepe And wold constrayne hym to ra-  
pele & sette hym a part whan the noble knyght sawe that  
He dyde the peple to vnderstande that he had not made  
them but a god that was named Apollo delphynus had  
made them / And had comanded hym that he shold do the  
peple kepe them / Thise wordes auarled not they wold  
in no wyse kepe them / And than he sayd to them that hit  
were good that er the said lawes shold be broken that  
he had gauen to them. that he shold goo and speke wyth  
the god Apollo / For to gete of hym a dispensacion to  
breke hem / And that the peple shold kepe & obserue them  
tyll that he retorned agayn / The peple accorded therto &  
swore that they shold kepe them to the tyme he retorned  
Than the knyght wente in to grece in exyle & dwellid ther  
alle his lyf / And whan he shold dye he comanded that  
his body shold be cast in the see / For as moche as yf his  
body shold be born thider / the peple shold wene to be  
quyt of therr oth / And shold kepe no lenger his lawes  
that were so good & resonable / & so the knyght had leuer  
to forsake his owne contrie & to dye so than to repele his  
lawes And his lawes were such / The first lawe was  
that y peple shold obey & serue the princes / And the prin-  
ces shold kepe the peple & do justice on the malefactours



The seconde lawe that they shold be all sobre / For he  
wiste well that the labour of cheualrye is most stronge  
whan they lyue sobrelly / The thirde was þat no man shold  
bye ony thyng for money but they shold change wares  
for wares & one marchandise for an other / The fourthe  
was that men shold sette no more by money ner kepe hit  
more than they wold dunge or fylthe / The fyfthe he orde-  
ynede for the comyn wele alle thyng by ordre / that the  
prynces myght meue and make bataylle by her power.  
to the maistres counceillours he comfyrde the Iugementis.  
And to the Auncestres rentes / to the senatours the keepynge  
of the lawe / And to the comyn peple he gaf power to  
chese suche Iuges as they wold haue / The sixte he orde-  
ned that all thyng shold be departid egally & all thyng  
shold be comyn And none richer than other in patrymo-  
nye / The seuenth that every man shold ete lyke well in  
comen openly / that riches shold not be cause of luxurie  
whan they ete secretly / The eygthe that the yonge peple  
shold not haue but on gowne or garment in the yere / The  
nynth that men shold sette poure children to labour in the  
felde / to thende that they shold not enloye thei yongthe  
in playes and in folie / but in labour / The tenth that the  
maydens shold be maryed wythoute dowayre / In suche  
wyse that no man shold take a wyf for money / The  
xi. that men shold rather take a wyf for her good man-  
ners and vertues than for her riches / The twelfthe  
that men shold worshiipe the olde and auncient men  
for thei age and more for thei wysedom than for her  
riches this knyght made none of thysse lawes / but he first  
kepte hem.

The fyfthe chapitre of the seconde booke of the forme

and maners of the rooke .

**T**he rooke whiche ben vicaires and legats of the kynge ought to be made lyke a knyght vpon an horse and a mantell and hood furred with martenur holdynge a staf in his hande / and for as moche as a kynge may not be in alle places of his royaume / Therefore the auctorite of hym is gyuen to the rooke / whiche represent the kynge / And for as moche as a royaume is grete and large / and that rebellion or nouelletes might sourde and aryse in oon partye or other / therefore ther ben two rookes one on the right side and that other on the lyfte side They ought to haue in hem. prync. Justice. humylite. wilfull pouerte. and liberalite / Forst Justice for hit is most fayr of the vertues / For hit happeth oft tyme that the ministrie by theyr pryde and orgueyll subuerste Justice and do no ryght / Wherefore the kynges otherwhyle lose theyr royumes with out theyr culpe or gylt / For an vntrewe Juge or offycer maketh his lord to be named vnjuste and euill And contrarie wyse a trewe mynestre of the lawe and ryght wyse / causeth the kynge to be reputed Juste and trewe / The Romayns therefore made good lawes / And wolde that / that they sholde be Juste and trewe / And they that establisshid them for to gouerne the peple / wolde in no wyse breke them / but kepe them for to dye for them / For the auntyent and wyse men sayd comynly that it was not good to make and ordeyne that lawe that is not Juste Wherof Valerius reherceth that ther was a man that was named Themistides whiche cam to the councyllours of athenes and sayd that he knewe a counceyll whiche was ryght prouffitable for them / But he wolde telle hyt but to



But to one of them whom that they wold / And they as  
signed to hym a wyse man named Aristides / And when  
he had vnderstande hym he cam agayn to the other of the  
counceyll And sayde that the counceyll of Themistides  
was well prouffitable / but hit was not iuste / how be  
hit ye may reuolue hit in your mynde / And the counceyll  
that he sayde was this / that ther were comen two grette  
shippis fro lacedome and were arryued in theyr londe.  
And that hit were good to take them / And when the  
counceyll herde hym that sayde / that hit was not iuste  
ner right / they lefte hem alle in pees And wold not haue  
adoo with alle / The vicarye or iuge of the kynge ought  
to be so iuste / that he shold enloye alle his entente to  
saue the comyn wele And yf hit were nede to put his lyf  
and lose hit therfore / we haue an ensample of marcus  
regulus wherof Tullius reherceth in the booke of offices  
And saynt Augustyn also de ciuitate dei how he faught  
agayn them of cartage by see in shippis and was vany-  
quyschid and taken / Than hit happend that they of car-  
tage sente hym in her message to rome for to haue theyr  
prisoners there / for they were taken / and so to chaunge  
one for an other And made hym sweare and promyse to  
come agayn / And so he cam to rome And made proposi-  
tion to fore the senate And demanded them of cartage of  
the senatours to be chaunged as afore is sayde And than  
the senatours demanded hym what counceyll he gaf Cer-  
tyn sayde he I counceyll you that ye do hit not in no wise  
For as moche as the peple of rome that they of cartage  
holde in prison of youris ben olde men and brused in the  
warre as I am my self / But they that ye holde in prison  
of their peple is alle the flour of alle their folke / whiche

councyll they toke / And than his friends wolde haue  
holde hym and councellyd hym to abide there and not  
retorne agayn prysoner in to cartage / but he wolde neuer  
do so ner abide / but wolde goo agayn and kepe his oth  
How well that he knewe that he wente towards his  
deth / For he had leue dyd than to breke his oth Valerius  
reherceth in the sixth booke of one Emelpe duc of the ro-  
mayns / that in the tyme whan he had assieged the pla-  
kistes / The scole maystre of the children deceyved the  
children of the gentylmen that he drew hym a lityll and  
a lityll vnto the tentys of the romayns by farr speche.  
And sayd to the duc Emelie / that by the moyan of the  
children that he had brought to hym / he shold haue the  
cyte / For theyr fathers were lordes and gouernours.  
Whan Emelie had herde hym he sayd thus to hym Thou  
that art euill and cruell And thou that woldest gyue  
a gyfte of grete felonnye and of mauuastye / thou shalt  
ner haue not founden here Duc ne peple that resembleth  
the / we haue also well lawes to kepe in batayll a warre  
As in our contres a other places / and we wole obserue  
and kepe them vnto euery man as they ought to be kept  
And we ben armed agaynst our enemyes y wole defende  
them And not ayenst them y can not saue their lyf whan  
their contre is taken / as thise lityll children / Thou hast va-  
ynquysshid them as moche as is in the by thy newe decey-  
nable falsenes and by subtilnes and not by armes / but I  
that am a romayn shall vanquyssh them by craft and  
strength of armes / And anon he comanded to take the  
said scole maister / And to bynde his handes behynde hym  
as a traytour and lede hym to the parentis of the children  
And whan the fathers a parentis sawe the grete courtoisie



that he had don to them They opened the gates and yelde  
them vnto hym / we rede that hanpball had taken a prince  
of rome whiche vpon his oth and promyse suffrid hym  
to gon home / and to sende hym his raunson / or he shold  
come agayn within a certayn tyme And when he was at  
home in his place / he sayde that he had deceyved hym by  
a false oth And when the senatours knewe therof / they  
constrayned hym to retorne agayn vnto hanpball / Amos  
florus tellyth that the phisicien of kynge pirrus cam on a  
nyght to fabrice his aduersarye And promysed hym yf  
he wold gyue hym for his laboure that he wold enpos-  
sone pirrus his maister / when fabricius vnderstode this  
He dyde to take hym and bynde hym hande & foote / and  
sente hym to his maistre and dyde so saye to hym word  
for worde lyke as the phisicien had sayd and promysed  
hym to doo / And when pirrus vnderstode this he was  
gretly ameruapled of the loyaltye and trouthe of fabrice  
his enemye / and sayd certaynly that the some myghte  
highlier and sonner be enuylid of his cours / than fa-  
brice shold be letted to holde loyaltye and trouthe / yf they  
than that were not cristen were so iuste and trewe and  
loued their contrey and their good renowme / what shold  
we now doon than that ben cristen and that oure lawe is  
sette alle vpon loue and charyte / But now a dayes ther  
is nothyng elsse in the world but baratre Treson decepte  
falsenes and trecherie Men kepe not theyr couenantes  
promyses . othes . writynges . ne trouthe / The subgettis  
rebelles agayn theyr lord / ther is now no lawe kepte .  
nor fidelite / ne oth holden / the peple murmure and ryse  
agayn theyr lord and wole not be subget / they ought  
to be pietous in herte / whiche is auailable to all thinge

ther is pite in effecte by compassion/and in worde by remis  
sion and pardon/by almesse/for to enclpne hym self to the  
poure. For pite is nothynge ellis but a right grete will  
of a debonaire herte for to helpe alle men/ Valerius reher  
ceth that ther was a Iuge named Sangis whiche damp  
ned a woman that had deseruyd the deth for to haue her  
heede smyten of or ellis that she shold dye in prison / The  
Geyler that had pite on the woman put not her anone  
to deth but put her in the prysen / And this woman had  
a doughter whiche cam for to se and conforthe her moder  
But all way er she entryd in to the prysen the Japler  
serchid her that she shold here no mete ne drynke to her  
moder/ but that she shold dye for hunger / Than hit hap  
pend after this that he meruayllid moche why this wo  
man dyd not / And began to espye the cause why she  
lyuyd so longe / And fonde at laste how her doughter  
gaf souke to her moder / And fedde her with her melke.  
Whan the Japler sawe this meruail/ he wente & told the  
Juge / And whan the Juge sawe this grete pite of the  
doughter to the moder he pardoned her and made her to  
be deliuerid oute of her prysen what is that/ that pite ne  
amousshith/ moche peple wene that it is agaynst nature  
and wondre that the doughter shold geue the moder to  
souke / hit were agayn nature but the children shold be  
kynde to fader and moder/ Seneca sayth that the kynge  
of bees hath no prykke to stryge with as other bees haue.  
And that nature hath take hit away from hym be cause  
he shold haue none armes to assayle them And this is  
an example vnto prynces that they shold be of the same  
condicion / Valerius reherceth in his.v. booke of marchus  
martellus that whan he had taken the cite of siracusane.



Ande was sette in the hyest place of the cite/ he behelde the  
grette destruction of the peple ande of the cite/ he wepte  
ande sayde/ thou oughtest to be soro full/ for so moche as  
thou woldest haue no pite of thy self/ But enioye the for  
thou art fallen in the hande of a righte delonaire prynce.  
Also he recounteth whan pompey hade conquerde the  
kyng of Germanye that often tymes hade foughten  
ayenst the romayns Ande that he was brought to fore  
hym bounden/ he was so pietous that he wold not suffre  
hym to be longe on his knees to fore hym/ but he receyved  
hym cortously Ande sette the crowne agayn on his heed  
ande put hym in the state that he was to fore/ For he had  
oppynion that hit was as worshipfull ande fittynge to  
a kyng to pardone/ as to punyssh. Also he receiveth of  
a colicellour that was namede poule that dide do brynge  
to fore hym a man that was prisoner Ande as he kneled  
to fore hym he toke hym vp fro the grounde and made hym  
to sette behide hym for to gyue hym good esperance and  
hoop Ande sayde to the other stondynge by/ in this wyse.  
yf hit be grette noblesse that we shewe our self contrarie  
to our enemyes/ than this fete ought to be also wode that  
we shewe our self delonaire to our caryes and prisoners  
Cesar whan he herde the deth of cathon which was his  
aduersarye sayde that he hade grette enuye of his glorie.  
Ande no thynge of his patrimonye/ ande therefore he lefte  
to his children frely alle his patrimonye Thus taughte  
vyrgyll ande enseyned the gloriouse prynces to reule  
ande gouerne the peple of rome Ande saynt Augustyn de  
civitate dei saith thus Thou imperour gouerne the peple  
pietously Ande make peas ouerall/ deperte ande forbere  
thy subgetes/ reprieue and correcte the proude/ for so enseyne

Ande teche the the lawes / Ande hit was wretton vnto  
Alexander / that euery pryncce ought to be ppetuous in pu  
nysshynge / Ande redy for to rewarde / Ther is no thyng  
that causeth a pryncce to be so belouyd of hys peple / As  
whan he speketh to hem sweetly / ande couersith with hem  
simplly / Ande all this cometh of the roote of ppyte / We rede  
of the Emperour Traian that his frendes reprocud hym  
of that he was to moche pryncce ande famlier wyth the  
comyn peple more than an emperour ought to be / Ande he  
answerd that he wold be suche an emperour as euery  
man desired to haue hym / Also we rede of Alexander that  
on a tyme he ladde his oost forth hastely / ande in that haste  
he beheld where satte an olde knyght that was sore colde  
Whom he dide do arise ande sette hym in his owne sete or  
hege / What wondre was hit though þ knyghtes desired  
to serue suche a lord that souyd better theyr helth than  
his dignite / The rookes ought also to be humble & meke  
Aftir the holy scripture whiche saith / the greater or in the  
hier astate that thou arte / so moche more oughtest thou be  
meker & more humble Valerius reherceth in his .vii. booke  
that ther was an emperour namede publius cesar / That  
dide do bete down his howse whiche was in the middis of  
þ market place for as moche as hit was heier than other  
houses / for as moche as he was more glorious in astate  
than other / Therefore wold he haue a lasse hous than other  
Ande scipion of affrique that was so poure of volūtarie  
pouerte þ whan he was dede / he was buried at þ dispencis  
of þ comyn good / They shold be so humble þ they shold  
leue theyr offices / ande suffre other to take hem whan her  
tyme cometh / & doo honour to other / for he gouerneth wel  
þ ropaine þ may gouerne hit whan he will Valeri⁹ saith



In his thirde booke that fabyan the grete had ben maistrie  
counceyllour of his fader his grauntfere / And of his  
grauntfere fader & of alle his antecessours And yet dide  
he alle his payne and labour / that his sone shold neuer  
haue that office after hym / but for nothyng that he mys-  
trusted his sone / For he was noble and wise and more  
attemprid than other / but he wold that the office shold  
not all way reste in the famlye and howe of the faby-  
ans Also he reherceth in his seuenth booke that they wold  
make the sayd fabyan empour / but he excused hym and  
sayd that he was blynde and myght not see for age / but  
that excusacion myght not helpe hym / Than sayd he to  
hem / seke ye and gete yow another / For yf ye make me  
your empour I may not suffre your maners / nor ye may  
not suffre myn / Ther was a kynge of so subtyll engyne  
That whan men brought hym the crowne / to fore that  
he toke hit / he remembred hym a litle and saide / O thou  
crowne that art more noble than happy For yf a kynge  
knewe well and parfaytly how that thou art full of  
parys of thoughte and of charge / yf thou were on the  
grounde / he wolde neuer lyfte ner take the vp / Remembre  
the that whan thou art most glorious / than haue some  
men moste enuy on the / and whan thou haste moste seig-  
nourye and lordshipe than shalt thou haue moste care .  
thoughte and anguysshes / Vaspasian was so humble  
that whan Nero was slayn alle the peple cryed for to  
haue hym empour / and many of his frendes cam & prayde  
hym that he wold take hit vpon hym / so at the last he  
was constrained to take hit vpon hym And sayd to his  
frendes This is better and more to preysse and allowe for a  
man to take the myre agaynst his wil / than for to labour

to haue hit and to put hym self therein / Thus ought they  
to be humble and meke for to reserue worship / Ther  
fore sayth the bible that Joab the sone of Saryne that  
was captayn of the warre of the kynge Dauid / whan  
he cam to take and wyne a Cyte / He sente to Dauid  
and desired hym to come to the warre / that the victorie  
shold be gauen to Dauid / And not to hym self / Also  
they ought to be ware that they chaunge not ofte tymes  
her officers / Iosephus reherceth that the frendes of tybe  
rius meruaylled moche why he helde hys offycers so  
longe in their offices wyth oute changynge / And they  
demanded of hym the cause / to whom he answered / I  
wold chaunge them gladly / yf I wiste that hit shold  
be good for the peple / But I sawe on a tyme a man that  
was roynpous & full of soores / And many flies satte  
vpon the soores and souked his blood that hit was mer  
uaylle to see / wherfore I smote and chased them away.  
And he than said to me why chasest and smytest away  
these flies that ben full of my blood / And now shalt  
thou late come other that ben hongrye whiche shall doon  
to me double payne more than the other dide / for the prikke  
of the hongrye is more porygnant the half / than of y<sup>e</sup> fulle  
And therfore sayde he I leue the officers in their offices.  
for they ben all riche / and doo not so moche euyl & harme  
As the newwe shold doo & were poure yf I shold sette hem  
in her places / They ought also to be pacient in herynge of  
wordes & in suffrynge payne on her bodies / as to the first  
One said to alisander that he was not worthy to regne.  
specially whan he suffrid that lecherie and desyte to haue  
seignoirie in hym / he suffrid hit paciently / And answered  
none other wyse but that he wolde corrette hym self.



And take better maners and more honeste Also hit is re-  
herced that Julius cezar was ballyd wherof he had des-  
play hir so grete that he kempt his heeris that laye on the  
after parte of his heede forward for to hyde the bare to  
fore. Than sayde a knyght to hym Cezar hit is lightlier  
And somer to be made that thou be not ballid than that  
I haue vbi ony cowardyse in the warre of rome/or here  
after shall doo ony cowardyse / he suffrid hit patiently  
and sayde not a word / Another reproched hym by his  
signage And callid hym former / he answered that hit is  
better that noblesse begynne in me / than hit shold faylle  
in me / Another callid hym tyrant / he answered yf I were  
one. thou woldest not saie soo A knyght callid on a tyme  
scipion of affricque forwile. 1 olde knyght in armes And  
that he knewe litell good And he answered I was born  
of my moder a litell child and feble and not a man of  
armes. And yet he was at alle tymes one of the best  
and moste worthy in armes that liuyd. Another sayde  
to vaspasian And a wolf shold sonner change his skyn  
and heer / than thou sholdest change thy lyf. For the lens-  
ger thou lyuest the more thou coueyst And he answered  
of thysse wordes we ought to laughe. But we ought to  
amende our self And punyssh the trespasses. Seneque  
reherceth that the kynge Antigonus herde certayn peple  
speke and saue euill of hym / And therwas betwene  
hem nomore but a courtyn / And than he sayde make an  
ende of your euill langage lest the kynge here you / for  
the courtyn hereth you well I nowhe. Than as to w-  
chynge to the paynes that they ought to suffre patiently  
Valerius reherceth that a tyrant dide do tozmente Anas-  
maximenes 1 thretenyd hym for to cutte of his tonge.

To whom he sayde hit is not in thy power to doo so / and  
forthwith he boote of his owne tonge / And shewedy hit  
with his teth and assedy hit in the visage of the Tyrant.  
Hit is a grette vertu in a man that he forgete not to be  
paepent in corrections of wronges / Hit is better to leue  
a gylty man unpunysht / than to punyssh hym in a  
wrath or yre Valerius referceth that archita of tarente  
that was mayster to plato sawe that his feldees a lande  
was destroyed and lost by the negligence of his seruant.  
To whom he sayde yf I were not angry with the I wolde  
take vengeance and turmente the / So there ye may see  
that he had leuer to leue to punyssh the / than to pugnyssh  
more by yre a wrath than by right And therfore sayth  
seneque / doo no thyng that thou oughtest to doo when  
art angry / For when thou art angry thou woldest doo  
alle thynges after thy playse / And yf thou canst not va  
pnyssh the then yre than muste thy yre ouercome the / Af  
ter this ought they to haue wylfull pouerte / lyke as hit  
was in the aunceynt prynces / For they coueited more to  
be riche in wytte and good maners than in moneye / And  
that referceth Valerius in his .viii. booke that scipion of  
affryque was accused vnto the Senate that he shold  
haue grette tresour / And he answerdy certes when I sub  
myssedy affryque in to pour poeste / I helde no thyng to my  
self that I myght saye this is myn saue only the surname  
of affryque / Ner the affryquans haue not founden in me  
ner in my broder any auarice / ner y we were so couetouse  
that we had ne had gretter enye to be riche of name than  
of rychesses / And therfore sayth seneque that the kynge  
Altagone vsyd gladly in his hys vessels of erthe / And  
some sayde he dyde hit for couetyse / But he sayde that



hit was better ande more noble thyng to shyne in good  
maners than in vayne glorie Ande when some men demaunded  
hym why ande for what cause he dyde so / he answered I  
am now kynge of sepylle / ande was sone of a potter / ande  
for as moche as I doubt fortune. For when I yssue  
out of the hous of my fader ande moder / I was sodaynly  
made riche / wherfore I beholde the nature of me ande of  
my lignage / whiche is humble & meke / Ande alle these  
thynges cometh of wilfull pouerte / for he entendede more  
to the comyn prouffyt than to his owen / Ande of this  
pouerte speketh saynt Augustyn in the booke of the cyte  
of god That they that entende to the comyn prouffyt.  
sore more that wilfull pouerte is lost in rome / than  
the riches of rome / For by the wilfull pouerte was  
the renouce of good maners kept entierly / thus by this  
riche pouerte is not only corrupt in these dayes ner the  
cite ner the maners / but also the thoughtes of the men ben  
corrupt by this couetyse ande by felonny that is worse.  
than any other enemy Ande of the crueltie of the peple of  
rome speketh the good man of noble memorie John the  
monke late cardynall of rome in the decretall the syxte in  
the chapitre gens sancta where he sayth / that they ben  
felous agens god. contrarie to holy thynges. traptres  
one to that other. enuyous to her neyghbours. proude vn  
to straungers. rebelle ande vntrewe vnto theyr souerayns  
Not suffringe to them that ben of lower degree than they  
and nothyng shamesfast to demaunde thynges discouenable  
and not to leue tyll they haue that they demaunde / ande not  
pleide but disagreeable when they haue resceyved the rest  
They haue their tonges redy for to make grete boost / ande  
doe lye / They ben large in promysinges / Ande smale

gruere / they ben ryght fals deceptours / And ryght mo-  
dent and bitynge detractours / For whiche thyng he is  
a grette sorowe to see the hump like the pacence / And the  
good wisdom that was woute to be in this cyte of rome  
whiche is chief of alle the world is peruertide & tornede  
in to maleheurte and thise euylles / And me thynketh that  
in other parties of crestiante they haue taken ensample  
of them to doo euill / They may saie that this is after  
the decretale of seignourye and disobeyfance / that sayth  
That suche thynges that the souerayns doo / Is sightly  
and sone taken in ensample of theyr subgetes / Also thise  
viaynes shold be large and liberall / In so moche that  
suche peple as serue them ben duly payde and guerdoned  
of her labour / For euery man doth his labour the better  
and sightlyer whan he seeth that he shall be well payde  
and rewarded / And we rede that Titus the sone of vaspasian  
was so large and so liberall / That he gaf and  
promysed somewhat to euery man / And whan hys  
moste prynces frendes demanded of hym why he promysed  
more that he myght geue / he answered for as moche  
as he apperteyneth not to a pryncce that ony man shold  
departe sorowfull or tryste fro hym / Than hit happend  
on a day that he gaf her promysed no thyng to ony man  
And whan hit was euen and aysed hym self / he sayde  
to hys frendes / O ye my frendes thys day haue I lost for  
this day haue I don no good / And also we rede of Julius  
Cesar that he neuer saide in alle his lyue to his knyghtes  
god oon but all way he sayde come come / For I loue all  
way to be in yourre compaignie / And he knewe well that  
hit was lasse payne & trauayll to the knyghtes whan the  
pryncce is in her compaignie that loueth hem & conforteth hem



And also we rede of the same Julius cesar in the booke of  
truphes of phylosophers / that ther was an Auncient  
knyght of his that was in paryll of a was hangynge to  
fore the Iuges of rome so he callyd cesar on a tyme and  
sайд to hym to fore all men that he shold be his aduocate  
And cesar deliueryd and assigned to hym a right good  
aduocate And the knyght sayd to hym O cesar I put no  
viciare in my place whan thou were in parill in þe batayll  
of assise / But I faught for the . And than he shewyd to  
hym the places of his woundes that he had receyvyd in  
the batayll And than cam cesar in his propre persone for  
to be his aduocate & to plete his cause for hym / he wold  
not haue the name of vnkynndenes / but doubted that men  
shold saye that he were proude And that he wold not  
do for them that had seruyd hym They that can not do so  
moche / as for to be belouyd of her knyghtes / can not loue  
the knyghtes And this sufficeth of the rooke .

The thirde tractate of the offices of the comyn peple .  
The fyrst chapitre is of the office of the labourers and  
werkemen .

**R**Oz as moche as the Noble persone canne not  
rewele ne gouerne with oute þe seruyce and werke  
of the peple / than hit behoueth to deuyse the oeu-  
rages and the offices of the werkemen, Than I shall be-  
gyne fyrst at the fyrst pawne / that is in the playe of the  
chesse / And signifieth a man of the comyn peple on fote  
For they be all named pietous that is as moche to saye  
as footemen And than we wyll begyne at the pawne  
whiche standeth to fore the rooke on the right side of the  
kinge for as moche as this pawne apperteyneth to serue  
the vicare or lieutenant of the kynge and other officers

unter hym of necessaries of vitayll / And this maner a  
peple is figured and ought be maade in the forme & shappe  
of a man holdynge in his ryght hande a spade or shouell  
And a rodde in the left hande / The spade or shouell is for  
to delue & labour therewith the erthe / And the rodde is for  
to dreue & conduyte wpth all the bestes vnto her pasture  
also he ought to haue on his gyrdell / a crokyd hachet for  
to cutte of the supfluytes of the vignes & trees / And we  
rede in the bible that the first labourer that euer was / was  
Caym the firste sone of Adam that was so euyl that he  
slew his broder Abel / for as moche as the smoke of his  
tythes went strait vnto heuen / And the smoke & fume  
of the tythes of Caym wente downward vpon the erthe  
And how well that this cause was trewe / yet was ther  
another cause of enuye that he had vnto his broder / For  
whan Adam their fader married them for to multiplye  
the erthe of hys signye / he wolde not marpener Ioyne to ge  
der the two that were born attones / but gaf vnto caym her  
that was born wpth Abel / And to Abel her that was  
born with caym / And thus began the nyue that caym had  
ayenst abel / For his wyf was fayrer than cayms wyf  
And for this cause he slough abel with the chekebone of  
a beste / & at that tyme was neuer no maner of pryn bloody  
of mannes blood / And abel was p<sup>r</sup> first martier in tholde  
testament / And this caym dide many other euyl thinges  
whiche I leue / for hit apperteyneth not to my mater / But  
hit beloueth for necessite p<sup>r</sup> some shold labour the erthe af  
ter p<sup>r</sup> synne of adam / for to fore er adam synned / the erthe  
brought forth fruyt with out labour of handes / but syn he  
spinned / hit muste nedes be labourid with p<sup>r</sup> handes of men  
And for as moche as the erthe is moder of alle thynges



Ande that we were first formede ande toke oure begyn-  
nyng of the erthe / the same wyse at the laste . she shall  
be the ende vnto alle vs ande to alle thynges / Ande god  
that formede vs of the erthe hath ordeynede that by the la-  
boure of men she shold geue nourysshyng vnto alle that  
lyueth / ande first the labourer of þe erthe ought to knowe  
his god that formede ande made heuen ⁊ erthe of nought  
Ande ought to haue loyaulte ande trouthe in hym self / ande  
despise deeth for to entende to his labour Ande he ought to  
geue thankyngis to hym that made hym Ande of whom  
he receyueth alle his goodes temporall / wherof his lyf  
is susteyned / Ande also he is bounden to paye the dismes  
ande tythes of alle his thynges Ande not as Caym dyde .  
But as Abell dyde of the beste that he chese out all way  
for to geue to god ⁊ to please hym / For they that grudge  
ande be greuyde in that they rendre ande geue to god the  
tenthes of her goodes / they ought to be aserd ande haue  
dredde that they shall falle in necessite Ande þe they might  
be dyspoyllde or robbed by warre or by tempeste that  
myght falle or happen in the contrey Ande hit is meruayll  
though hit so happen . For that man that is disagreeable  
vnto god Ande weneth þe the multiplunge of his goodes  
temporell cometh by the vertu of his owne couceyff ande  
his wytte / the whiche is made by the only ordenance of  
hym that made alle Ande by the same ordenance is soone  
taken away fro hym that is disagreeable / ande hit is reson  
that whan a man laboundeth by fortune in goodes / Ande  
knoweth not god by whom hit cometh / that to hym come  
some other fortune by the whiche he may requyre grace  
ande pardon Ande to knowe his god / Ande we rede of the  
kyng David that was first simple ⁊ one of the comyn

peple / that when fortune had enhaunsed and sette hym  
in grete astate / he left and forgate his gode / And fell to  
aduoultrye and homicyde and other synnes / Then anon  
his owne sone Absalon assayled and began to persecute  
hym And then when he sawe that fortune was contra-  
rye to hym / he began to take agayn his vertuous werke  
and requyred pardoun and so retorned to gode agayn.  
We rede also of the children of ysrael that were nyghe  
ensampned in desert and sore hongry and thursty that they  
prayed and requyred of gode for remedy / Anon he changed  
his wyll and sente to hem manna / and flesch 2c / And when  
they were replenished and fatte of the flesch of bestes and of  
the manna / they made a calf of gold and worshipped hit.  
Whiche was a grete synne and Inquyte / For when they  
were hongry they knewe gode / And when they were belpes  
were fylde and fattened / they forgid ydoles and were ydolaters  
After this euery labourer ought to be fapthfyll and trewe  
That when his maystre deliuereth to hym his lande to be  
laboured / that he take no thynge to hym self but that hym  
ought to haue and is his / but labour trulpy and take cure and  
charge in the name of his maistre / and do more diligently  
his maisters labours than his owen / for the lyp of y most  
grete and noble men next gode lieth in y handes of the labou-  
rers / and thus all craftes and occupations ben ordeyned not  
only to suffice to them only / but to the comyn / And so hit  
happeth ofte tyme that y labourer of the erthe vsyth grete  
and boyssous metres / and bryngeth to his maister more  
subtile and more deyntous metres / And valerius referreth in  
his .vi. booke that ther was a wise and noble maistre y was  
named Anthom that was accused of a mas of aduoul-  
trye / and as the cause henge to fore the Iuges / his accusers or



denonciatours brought ʒ labourer that cloſed his lande  
for ſo moche as they ſayde when his maiſtre wente to  
do the aduoultrpe / this ſame ſeruant bare the lanterne.  
wherof Anthonys was ſore abaſſhyde and doubted  
that he ſhould depoſe agaynſt hym But the labourer that  
was namede papirion ſayde to his maiſter that he ſhould  
denye his cauſe hardely vnto the Iuges. For for to be tor-  
mentid / his cauſe ſhould neuer be enpeyrid by hym / ner no  
thyng ſhould yſſue out of his mouth wherof he ſhould be  
noped or greuyd And than was the labourer beten and  
tormentid and brent in many places of his body But he  
ſayde neuer thyng wherof his maſter was hurte or  
noped / But the other that accuſed his maiſter were pu-  
niſſhid And papirion was deliuerid of his paynes free  
and franc / And alſo telleth valerius that ther was an-  
other labourer that was namede penapion / that ſeruyd a  
maiſter whoſe name was Themes whiche was of in-  
uapilous faith to his maſtre. For hit beſell that certain  
knyghtes cam to his maiſters howe for to ſlee hym And  
anone as papirion knewe hit / he wente in to his maiſters  
chambre And wold not be knowen. For he dide on his  
maiſters gowne and his rynge on his fyrnger / And laye  
in his bedde And thus put hym ſelf in pariff of deth for to  
deſpite his maiſters lyf / But we ſee now a dayes many  
fooles that daigne not to vſe groos metres of labourers.  
And flee the cours clothynge And maners of a ſeruant  
Euery wiſe man a ſeruant that truly ſeruyth his maiſter  
is free and not bonde / But a foole that is ouer proude is  
bonde / For the debilitie and febleneſſe of corage that is  
broken in conſcience by pryde Enuie. or by couetyſe is  
ryght ſeruytude / yet they ought not to doubt to labour

valerius na-  
the hystorie  
penapion

for feire & drede of deth / no man ought to loue to moche  
his lpf / For hit is a forwoll thyng for a man to reime to  
the deth for the enemye of his lpf / And a wyse man and  
a stronge man ought not to flee for his lpf / but to yssue  
For ther is no man that lyueth / but he must nedes dye .  
And of this speketh claudyan and sayth that alle thoo  
thynges that the Ayer geth aboute and enuyronned .  
And alle thynges that the erthe labourerth / Alle thynges  
that ben conteyned wyth in the see Alle thynges that the  
floodes bryng forth / Alle thynges that ben nourysshid  
and alle the bestes that ben vnder the heuen shall departe  
alle from the world / And alle shall goo at his coman  
dement / As well Kynges Prynces and alle that the  
world enuyronned and gooth aboute / Alle shall goo  
this waye / Than he ought not to doubte for feire of deth .  
For as well shall dye the ryche as the poure / deth ma  
keth alle thynges lyke and putteth alle to an ende / And  
therof made a noble versifier two verses whiche folowe  
forma . genus . mores . sapiencia . res . et honores / Morte  
ruant subita sola manent merita / Wherof the english is  
Beaulte . signage . maners . wysedom . thynges & honou  
res / shall ben deffeted by sodern deth / no thyng shall abide  
but the merites / And herof fynde we in Vitas patrum .  
that ther was an erle a riche & noble man that had a sone  
only / and when this sone was of age to haue knowleche  
of the lawe / he herde in a sermone that was prechid that  
deth spareth none / ne riche ne poure / and as well dyeth y  
ponge as the olde / and that the deth ought specially to be  
doubted for .iii. causes / one was / y no man knoweth when  
he cometh / and the seconde / ner in what state he taketh a  
man / And the thirde he wote neuer whither he shall goo .



Therefore echē man sholdē dispise and flee the worldē and  
spue well and holde hym towardē godē And whan this  
yong man herde this thyngē / he wente oute of his contrey  
and fledde vnto a wyl dernessē vnto an hermytage / and  
whan his fader hadē losse hym he made grette sorowe / and  
dyde do enquire a seke hym so moche at last he was foun  
den in the hermytage / and than his fader cam thider to hym  
and sayde / dere sone come from thens / thou shalt be after  
my deth erle and chiefe of my lignage / I shall be lost yf  
thou come not out from thens / And he than that wyfte  
non otherwise to eschewe the pre of his fader bethought  
hym and sayde / dere fader ther is in your contrey and lande  
a righte cupell custome yf hit please you to put that away  
I shall gladly come out of this place and goo with you  
The fader was gladd and hadē grette joye And demaunded  
of hym what hit was And yf he woldē telle hym he pro  
myssed hym to take hit away and hit sholdē be left and  
sette a parte . Than he sayde dere fader ther dyen as well  
the yong folk in your contrey as the olde / do that away I  
pray you / whan his fader herde that he sayde Dere sone  
that may not be ner non man may put that away but godē  
only / Than answered the sone to the fader / than wyllē I  
serue hym and dwelle here wyth hym that may do that .  
And so abode the childe in the hermytage a lypde there  
in goodē werkes After this hit apperteyneth to a labourer  
to entende to his labour and flee ydlenes / And thou  
oughtest to knowe that Dauid preseth moche in the  
sawolter the trewe labourers and sayth / Thou shalt ete  
the labour of thy handes and thou art blessid / and he  
shall do to the goodē And hit beloueth that the labourer  
entende to his labour on the werkedayes for to recupe

Dauid

and gadre to gyder the fruyt of his labour / And also he  
ought to reſte on the ſolp day / Both he and his beſtes .  
And a good labourer ought to norſſe he and kepe his  
beſtes / And this is ſignefied by the rodde that he hath .  
Whiche is for to lede and dryue them to the paſture / The  
firſte paſtour that euer was / was Abel whiche was  
juſte and trewe / and offryd to god the beſtes vnto his  
ſacrifice / And hym ought he to folowe in craft & maners  
But no man that vſeth the malice of Caym maye enſue  
and folowe Abel / And thus hit apperteyneth to the  
labourer to ſette and graffe trees and vynes / and alſo  
to plante and cutte them And ſo dyde noe whiche was  
the firſt that planted the vyne after þe deluge and floods  
For as Joſephus reſercth in þe booke of naturell thinges  
Noe was he that fonde fyrſt the vyne / And he fonde  
hym bitter and wylde / And therefore he took .iiii. maners  
of blood / that is to wete the blood of a lyon . the blood  
of a lamb . the blood of a ſwyne . and the blood of an ape  
and medlid them al to gedre with the erthe / And than he  
cutte the vyne / And put this aboute the rootes therof .  
To thende that the bitterneſſe ſhold be put away / and that  
hit ſhold be ſwete / And whan he had dronken of the  
fruyt of this vyne / hit was ſo good and mighty that he  
becam ſo dronke / that he diſpoſſed hym in ſuche wiſe þe  
his pryncypal members might be ſeen / And his pongeſt ſone  
Caym mocked and ſcorned hym And whan Noe was  
awakid & was ſobre & faſtinge / he aſſembled his ſones  
and ſhewid to them the nature of the vyne and of the  
wyn / And told to them the cauſe why þe had put the  
blood of the beſtes aboute the roote of the vyne and that  
they ſhold knowe well þe otherwhile by þe ſtrength of the



wyn men be made as hardy as the lyon and proues And  
otherwhile they be made symple 7 shamefast as a lambe  
And lecherous as a swyn / And curpous and full of  
playe as an Ape / For the Ape is of suche nature that  
whan he seeth one do a thyng he enforceth hym to doo the  
same and so doo many whan they ben dronke / they will  
medle them wyth alle officers 7 matiers that apperteyne  
no thyng to them / And whan they ben fastyng 7 sobre  
they can scarcely accomplishe theyr owne thynges And  
therefore valerian reherceth that of auncyente and m<sup>o</sup>lde  
tyme women drinke no wyn for as moche as by dron-  
kenship they myght falle in ony filthe or vilonye And as  
Ouide sayth / that the wyne otherwhyle apparayle the  
corages in suche manere that they ben couenable to alle  
synnes whiche take away the hertes to doo well / They  
make the poure riche / as longe as the wyn is in his heed  
And shortly dronkenship is the begynnynge of alle  
euylles / And corrupith the body / and destroyed the  
soule and mynust hit the goodes temporels / And this  
suffyseth for the labourer.

The secunde chapitre of the thirde tractate treteth of the  
forme and maner of the seconde parone and of the maner  
of a symth.

**T**he seconde parone p<sup>r</sup> standeth to fore the knyght  
on the right side of the kynge hath the forme and  
figure of a man as a symth and that is reson. For  
hit apperteyneth to p<sup>r</sup> knyghtes to haue bridellles sadellles  
spores and many other thynges made by the handes of  
symthes and ought to holde an hamer in his right hande.  
And in his lyfte hande a dolabre and he ought to haue on  
his gyrdell a trowell. For by this is signefied all maner

of werkemen/as goldsmithes.marshallis.smithes of all  
forges/forgers a makers of monoye a all maner of sym-  
thes ben signefied by the hamer/The carpenters ben signe-  
fied by the dolabre or squer / And by the trowell we  
vnderstande all masons a keruars of stones/tylers/and  
alle them that make howses castels a tours/And to alle  
these crafty men hit apperteyneth that they be trewe. wise  
and stronge/and hit is nede þ they haue in hem self faith  
and loyaulte/ For vnto the goldsmithes beloueth gold a  
siluer And alle other metallis/yrn a steel to other/And  
vnto the carpenters and masons/ben put to theyr edifices  
the bodys and goodes of the peple / And also men put  
in the handes of the maronniers body and goodes of the  
peple / And in the garde and sewerde of them men put  
body a so vyle in the payrle of the see/ and therfore ought  
they to be trewe / vnto whom men commytte suche grette  
charge and so grette thynges vpon her fayth and truste.  
And therfore sayth the philosopher / he that leseth his  
fayth and beleue / may lose no grette ne more thyng.  
And fayth is a souerayn good and cometh of the good  
wyll of the herte and of his mynde And for no necessite  
wyll deceyue no man / And is not corrupt for no mede.  
Valerius reherceth that Fabius had receyved of han-  
bal certayn prysoners that he helde of the romayns for  
a certayn some of monoye whiche he promysed to paye  
to the sayd hanball / And whan he cam vnto the sena-  
tors of rome and desired to haue þ money lent for hem  
They answered that they wold not paye ner lene / And  
than fabius sente his sone to rome a made hym to selle his  
heritage a patrimonye/and sente the money that he ressey-  
ued therof vnto hanball / And had leuer a louyd better



to be poure in his contrey of herytage/ than of by leue and  
fayth / But in thysse dayes hit were grete folye to haue  
suche affiance in moche peple but yf they had ben prouyd  
afore. For oftentimes men truste in them by whom they  
ben deceyvd at theyr nede / And it is to wete that these  
crafty men and werkemen ben souerainly prouffitable  
vnto the world And wyth oute artificers and werke  
men the world myght not be gouerned / And knowe  
thou verily that alle tho thynges that ben engendrid on  
the erthe and on the see / ben made and formed for to do  
prouffit vnto the lignage of man / for man was formed  
for to haue generacion / that the men myght helpe and  
prouffit eche other And here in ought we to folowe na-  
ture / For she shewedy to vs that we shold do comyn  
prouffit one to an other / And y first fondement of Justice  
is that no man shold noye ne greue other But that they  
ought doo the comyn prouffit / For men saye in reproche  
That I see of thyng / I hope hit shall be myn But who is he  
in thysse dayes that entendeth more to the comyn prouffit  
than to his owne / Certaynly none / But all way a man  
ought to haue drede and feere of his owne hows / When  
he seeth his neyghbours hous a fyre And therefore ought  
men gladly helpe the comyn prouffit / for men otherwhyle  
sette not be a litell fyre And might quench hit in the be-  
gynnyng / that afterwarde makyth a grete blaspyng fyre .  
And fortune hath of no thinge so grete play hir / as for to  
torne a werke all way / And nature is so noble a thyng  
that were as she is she wyll susteyne and kepe / but this  
reule of nature hath fayllyd longe tyme / how well that  
the deere sayth that alle the thynges that ben ayenst the  
lawe of nature / ought to be taken away and put a part

And he sayth to fore in the .viij. distinction that the ryght  
lawe of nature differenceth ofte tymes for custome & sta-  
tutes establisshid/ for by lawe of nature all thinge ought  
to be comyn to every man/ and this lawe was of old tyme  
And men wene yet specially y<sup>e</sup> the troians kept this lawe  
And we rede that the multitude of the Troians was one  
herte and one sooule/ And veraply we fynde that in tyme  
passid the philosophres dyde the same / And also hit is  
to be supposyd that suche as haue theyr goodes comune &  
not propre is most acceptable to god / For elles wold  
not thise religious men as monkes frenis chanyons obser-  
uantes & all other auowe hem & kept the wilfull pouerte  
that they ben professid too/ For in trowth I haue my self  
ben conuersant in a religio<sup>n</sup> house of white frenis at gaunt  
Whiche haue alle thyng in comyn amonge them/ and not  
one richer than an other/ in so moche that yf a man gaf to  
a freer .iii. d. or .iiii. d. to praye for hym in his masse/ as  
sone as the masse is doon he deliuerith hit to his ouerest or  
procuratour in whiche hows ben many vertuous and  
deuoute frenis And yf that lyf were not the beste and the  
most holiest/ holy church wold neuer suffre hit in religion  
And acordynge therto we rede in plato whiche sayth y<sup>e</sup>  
the c<sup>ty</sup>te is well and justely gouernid and ordeyned in the  
whiche no man maye saue by right. by custome. ne by orde-  
nance/ this is myn / but I say to the certaynly that syn this  
custome cam forth to say this is myn/ And this is thyn/ no  
man thought to preferre the comyn prouffit so moche as  
his owen/ And alle werkemen ought to be wise & well  
aduyssyd so that they haue none enuye ne none euyl sus-  
pcion one to an other/ for gods wyll that our humane  
nature be couetous of two thynges/ that is of Religion.



Ande of wysedom / But in this case ben some often tymes  
deceyvede. For they take ofte tymes religion ande leue wis-  
edom Ande they take wysedom ande reffuse religion Ande  
none may be vraye ande trewe with oute other. For hit  
apperteyneth not to a wyse man to do ony thyng that he  
may repente hym of hit / Ande he ought to do no thyng  
agensst his wyll / but to do alle thyng nobly . meurely .  
fermely . ande honestly Ande yf he haue enuye vpon ony .  
hit is folse. For he on whom he hath enuye is more honest  
ande of more hauoir than he whiche is so enuyous / For  
a man may haue none enuye on an other / but be cause he is  
more fortunat ande hath more grace than hym self / For  
enuye is a sorowe of corage y cometh of dysordynance  
of the prouffit of another man Ande knowe thou verily  
that he that is full of bounte shall neuer haue enuye of an  
other / But the enuyous man seeth ande thynketh alway  
that euery man is more noble / Ande more fortunat than  
hym self Ande sayth alway to hym self / that man wynt-  
neth more than I / ande myn neyghbours haue more plente  
of bestes / ande her thynges multiplie more than myn / ande  
therfore thou oughtest knowe that enuye is the moste  
grettest dedely synne that is / for she tormenteth hym that  
hath her wythin hym / wyth oute tormentynge or doynge  
ony harme to hym / on whome he hath enuye . Ande an en-  
uyous man hath no vertue in hym self / for he corrupeth  
hym self for as moche as he hateth alway the welthe  
ande vertues of other / ande thus ought they to kepe them  
that they take none euill suspencion. For a man naturelly  
whan his affection hath suspencion in ony man that he we-  
neth that he doth / hit semeth to hym verily that it is don.  
Ande hit is an euill thyng for a man to haue suspencion

on hym self / For we rede that dionyse of zecyll a tyrant  
Was so suspencionous that he had so grete fere and drede  
For as moche as he was hated of all men / that he putte  
his frendes oute of theyr offices that they had / And putte  
other strangers in theyr places for to kepe his body / and  
chese suche as were ryght Cruell and felons / And for  
fere and doubte of the barbours / he made hys daughters  
to lerne shawe and kembe / And when they were grete .  
He wold not they shold vse ony prync to be occupied by  
them / but to brenne and senge his heris / and manaced  
them and durst not truste in them / And in lyke wyse they  
had none affiance in hym And also he dyde to enupronne  
the place where he laye wyth grete diche and brode  
lyke a castell / And he entred by a drawbrygge whiche  
closyd after hym / And hys knyghtes laye wyth oute  
wyth his gardes whiche wachid and kept straitly  
thys forteresse / And when plato sawe thys Dionyse  
kyng of cezille thus enupronned and set aboute wyth  
gardes and wachemen for the cause of his suspencion sayde  
to hym openly to fore all men kyng why hast thou don so  
moche euill and harme / that the behoueth to be kept wyth  
so moche peple / And therfor I saye that hit apperteyneth  
not to ony man that wylle truly behaue hym self in his  
werkis to be suspencionous / And also they ought to be  
stronge and seure in theyr werkis / And specially they  
that ben maysters and maronniers on the see / for yf they  
be tumerous and ferdfull they shold make a ferde them  
that ben in theyr shippis / that knowe not the payle / And  
so hit might happene that by that drede and fere alle men  
shold leue theyr labour / And so they myght be perished  
and despayred in theyr conages / For a shippe is soone



perissidz andz lost by a heylle tempest / whan the gouer-  
nour faylletz to gouerne his shippe for drede / Andz can  
gyue no counceyll to other than it is no meruayll / thangh  
they be a ferdz that ben in his gouernance / Andz therfore  
ought be in them strengthe force andz corage / andz ought  
to considere the perys that myght falle / Andz the gouer-  
nour specially ought not to doute / Andz yf hit happen  
that ony paryll falle / he ought to promyse to the other  
goodz hope / Andz hit apperteyneth well / that a man of  
goodz andz hardy corage be sette in that office / In suche  
wyse that he haue ferme andz seure mynde agens the pa-  
ryls that oft tymes happen in the see / andz with this ought  
the maroners haue goodz andz ferme creance andz beleue  
in godz / andz to be of goodz reconforte and of fayr langage  
vnto them that he gouerneth in suche parylls / Andz this  
sufficeth to poore as touchynge the labourers .

The thirde chapitre of the thirde booke treteth of the  
office of notaries aduocates skryueners andz drapers or  
clothmakers .

The thirde parroue whiche is sette to fore the Al-  
phyn on the right side ought to be figuredz as a  
clerk Andz hit is reson that he sholdz so be / For  
as moche as amonge p<sup>r</sup> comon peple of whom we speke  
in this booke they plete the differencis contencions andz  
causes otherwhyle the whiche becometh the Alphine to  
gyue sentence andz iuge as Juges Andz hit is reson that  
the Alphyn or iuge haue his notarye / by whom p<sup>r</sup> processe  
may be wretton / Andz this parroue ought to be made andz  
figuredz in this manere / he muste be made like a man that  
holdeth in his right handz a pair of sheres or forsetis / andz  
in the left handz a grete knyfe andz on his gurdell a penner

and an ynkhorn/ and on his ere a penne to wryte wyth  
And that ben the Instrumentis a the offices that ben made  
and put in writynge autentique/ and ought to haue passed  
to fore the Iuges as libelles writtes condempnacions and  
sentences/ And that is signefied by the scriptoire and the  
penne and on that other part hit appertayneth to them to  
cutte cloth. shere. dighte. and dre/ and that is signefied by  
the forsettis or sheres/ and the other ought to shauē berdes  
and keiue the heies/ And the other ben coupers. corpers.  
tawiers. skynners. bouchers and cordwanners/ and these  
ben signefied by the knyfe that he holdeth in his hande and  
some of thise forsayd crafty men ben named drapers or  
clothmakers for so moche as they werke wyth wolle.  
and the Notayres. skynners. corpours. and cardewanners  
werke by skynnyng and hyde/ As parchemyn velume. pel  
tre and cordewan/ And the Tapillours. cutters of cloth.  
weuars. fullars. dyers/ And many other craftes occupye  
and vse wulle/ And alle thise crafty men a many other  
that I haue not named/ ought to doo there craft and mes  
tyer/ where as they ben duly ordeyned Curpously and  
truly/ Also they ought to be amonge thise crafty men  
amiable compaignie and trewe/ honest contenance/ And  
trouthe in their wordes/ And hit is to wete that the nota  
ries ben right prouffitable and ought to be good a trewe  
for the compyn And they ought to kepe them fro appropri  
punge to them self that thyng p apperteyneth to the compyn  
And yf they be good to them self/ they ben good to other.  
And yf they be euill for them self/ they ben euill for other  
And the processees that ben made to fore the Iuges ought  
to ben wroton a passid by them/ and hit is to wete that by  
their writynge in the processeis may come moche prouffit



And also yf they wryte other wyse than they ought to  
doe may enserue moche harme and damage to the comyn  
Therefore ought they to take good heed that they chaunge  
not ne corrumpe in no wyse the content of the sentence.  
For than ben they first forsworn And ben bounden to  
make amendes to them that by theyr tricherye they haue  
endamaged / And also ought they to rede visite and to  
knowe the statutes . ordenances and the lawes of the cy-  
ties of the contre / where they dwelle and inhabite / And  
they ought to considere yf ther be ony thyng therein con-  
trarye apenst right and reson / and yf they fynde ony thyng  
contraire / they ought to admoneste and warne them that  
gouerne / that suche thynges may be chaunged into better  
estate / For custome establisshid apenst good maners  
and agaynst the farrth / ought not to be holden by right .  
For as hit is sayd in the decree in the chapitre to fore / alle  
ordenance made apenst ryght ought to be holden for  
nought Alas who is now that aduocate or notaire that  
hath charge to wryte and kepe sentence that putteth his  
entente to kepe more the comyn prouffit or as moche as  
his owen / But alle drede of god is put a back / and they  
deceyue the symple men And drawen them to the courtes  
disordnatly and constrayned them to swere and make  
othes not couenable / And in assemblyng the peple thus  
to gyder they make moo traysons in the cyties than they  
make good alpances And otherwhile they deceyue their  
souerayns / when they may doo hit couertly For ther is  
no thyng at this day that so moche greueth Rome and  
Italye as doth the college of notaries and aduocates pub-  
licque / For they ben not of oon a corde / Alas and in  
Engeland what hurte doon the aduocates . men of lawe .

Ande attorneyes of court to the comyn peple of þe royaume  
as well in the spirituelle lawe as in the temporall / how  
to kepe the lawe ande statutes at their pleasur / how ete  
they the peple / how empouere they the comynthe / I suppose  
that in alle Cristendom ar not so many pletars attorneys  
and men of the lawe as ben in englond onely / for yf they  
were nombred all that linge to the courtes of the chancery  
kings benches. comyn place. cheker. westmynster and helle  
Ande the bagge berars of the same / hit shold amounte to  
a grete multitude Ande how alle thysse lyue of whome.  
yf hit shold be vttrid and told / hit shold not be beleuyd.  
For they entende to theyr synguler wele ande prouffyt  
and not to the comyn / how well they ought to be of good  
wyll to gyde / ande admoneste ande warne the cyties eche  
in his right in suche wise that they myght haue pees ande  
loue one with an other Ande tullius saith that frendshipp  
and good wyll that one ought to haue agensst an other  
for the wele of hym that he loueth / wyth the semblable  
wyll of hym / ought to be put forth to fore alle other  
thynges / Ande ther is no thyng so resemblyng ande lyke  
to the bees that maken honye ne so couenable in prosperite  
and in aduersite as is loue / For by loue gladly the bees  
holden them to gyde / Ande yf ony trespase to that other  
anone they renne vpon the malefactor for to punyssh  
hym / Ande verray trewe loue fayllet neuer for wele ne  
for euill / ande the most swete ande the most confortyng  
thyng is for to haue a frende to whom a man may saye  
his secretes / as well as to hym self / But veray amytie  
and frendship is somtyme founded vpon som thyng delectable  
Ande this amytie cometh of yongthe / in the which  
dwelleth a disordinate herte .



And otherwhile amytie is founded vpon honeste. And  
this amytie is vertuous / Of the whiche tullius saith  
ther is an amytie vertuous by the whiche a man ought to  
do to his frende alle that he requyret by rason. For for  
to do to hym a thyng dishoneste it is ayenst the nature  
of veray friendship and amytie. And thus for friendship  
ne for fauour a man ought not to doo any thyng vnreso-  
nable ayenst the comyn prouffit ner agaynst his sayth  
ne ayenst his oth / for yf alle tho thynges that the frendes  
desire and requyre were accomplisshid and don / hit shold  
seme that they shold be dishoneste coniuracions / And  
they myght otherwhile more greue and hurte than prouffit  
and ayde / And herof sayth seneque that amytie is of  
suche wyll as the frende wyll / And to refuse that  
ought to be refussid by rason / And yet he sayth more.  
that a man ought to alowe and pseyse his frende to fore  
the peple / and to correcte and to chastyse hym pryncyply.  
For the lawe of amytie is suche. For a man ought not  
to demande ner doo to be don to his frende no vylayn  
thyng that ought to be kept secreete. And valerian sayth  
that it is a fowll thyng and an euill excusacion / yf a  
man confesse that he hath done any euill for his frende  
ayenst right and rason / And sayth that ther was a  
good man named Tassile whiche herde one his frende  
repute of hym a thyng dishoneste whiche he denyed  
and wold not doo. And than his frende sayth to hym  
grette dyspyte / what nede haue I of thy friendship and amytie  
whan thou wilt not doo that thyng that I requyre of the  
And Tassile answerd to hym / what nede haue I of the  
friendship and of the amytie of the / yf I shold doo for the  
thyng dishoneste. And thus loue is founded otherwhile

vpon iustice prouffitable/and this loue endureth as longe  
as he feeleth his prouffit And herof men saye a comyn pro-  
uerbe in england/that loue lasteth as longe as the money  
endureth/and when the money fayleth than there is no  
loue/and varro reherceth in his sommes/that y<sup>e</sup> riche men  
ben alle louyd by this loue/for their frendes ben lyke as y<sup>e</sup>  
huske whiche is aboute the grayn/and no man may proue  
his frende so well as in aduersite/or when he is poure/for  
the veray trewe frende fayleth at no nede / And seneque  
saith y<sup>e</sup> some folowe the empour for riches/and so doon y<sup>e</sup>  
flies the hony for the sweetence/and the wolf the karayn  
And these companie folowe the proye/and not the man  
And tullius saith that Tarquyn y<sup>e</sup> proude had a newewe  
of his suster whiche was named brutus and this newewe  
had banysshid tarquyn out of rome and had sente hym in  
exyle/ And than sayd he first that he perceyvd a knowe  
his frendes whiche were trewe & vntrewe/and y<sup>e</sup> he neuer  
perceyvd a fore tyme when he was puppant for to doo  
their wyll/and sayd well that the loue that they had to  
hym/endured not but as longe as it was to them prouffi-  
table/and therefore ought all the ryche men of the world  
take hede/be they Kynges Prynces or ducs to what peple  
they doo prouffit & how they may and ought be louyd of  
theyr peple / For anthon sayth in his booke / see to whom  
thou gyvst / and this loue whiche is founded vpon theyr  
prouffit/whiche fayleth and endureth not/may better  
be calld and said marchandise than loue / For yf we  
repute this loue to our prouffit only/and nothyng to the  
prouffit of hym that we loue / It is more marchandise  
than loue / For he byeth our loue for the prouffit that he  
doth to vs/and therfor saith the versifier these two versis



Tempore felici multi murmerantur amici Cum fortuna  
perit nullus amicus erit / whiche is to saye in English  
that as longe as a man is euorous and fortunat he hath  
manyp frendes but whan fortune toznethe and perissith.  
ther abideth not to hym one frende / And of this loue ben  
loupde the meadowes . feldes . Trees and the bestes for the  
prouffit that men take of them / But the loue of the men  
ought to be charpte . veray gracious and pure by good  
fayth / And the veray trewe frendes ben knowen in pure  
aduersite / and pere alphonse saith in his booke of moralite  
that ther was a philosophre in arabye that had an onely  
sone / of whom he demanded what frendes he had gotten  
hym in his lyf And he answered that he had many And  
his fader sayde to hym / I am an olde man / And yet coude  
I neuer fynde but one frende in alle my lyf / And I trowe  
verily that it is no lytyll thyng for to haue a frende / and  
hit is well gretter and more a man to haue many / And  
hit appertayneth and behoeth a man to assaye and proue  
his frende er he haue nede And than comandede the philo  
sopher his sone / that he shold goe and slee a swyne / and  
putte hit in a sack / and fayne that hit were a man dede  
that he had slayn and bere hit to his frendes for to burye  
hit secretly / And whan the sone had don as his fader co  
mandede to hym and had requyred his frendes one after  
an other as a fore is sayde / They deuyed hym / And ans  
werde to hym that he was a vylayne to requyre a desire  
of them thyng that was so peryllous And than he cam  
agayn to his fader and sayde to hym how he had requy  
red alle his frendes / And that he had not founden one  
that wolde helpe hym in his nede And than his fader said  
to hym that he shold goe and requyre his frende whiche

Had but one/ and requyre hym that he shold helpe hym in  
his nede And when he had requyred hym/ Anone he put  
oute alle his mayne oute of his howe / And when they  
were oute of the wape or a slepe he dide da make secretly  
a pytte in the grounde / And when hys was redy and  
wold haue buryed the body / he fonde hit an hogge or a  
swyne and not a man / And thus they sone perceyvede  
man to be a veray trewe frende of his fader / And perceyvede  
that his frendes were fals frendes of fortune / And pet-  
reherceth the sayd piers Alphons / That ther were two  
marchantes one of Bandach and that other of Egipte  
whiche were so joyned to gyder by so grete frendshipp  
that he of Bandach cam on a tyme for to see hys frende  
in Egipte / of whom he was receyvede ryght honourably  
And this marchant of Egipte had in his howe a fayr  
ponge mayden whom he shold haue had in marriage to  
hymself / Of the whiche mayde this marchant of Ban-  
dach was espyed wth her loue so ardantly that he  
was ryght seeke / And that men supposid hym to dye.  
And than the other dyde doo come the phisiciens whiche  
sayd that in hym was none other sekeneis sauf passyon  
of loue / Than he arid of the seeke man yf ther were ony  
woman in hys howe that he lounde and made alle the  
women of his howe to come to fore hym / And than he  
chees her that shold haue ben that others wyf and sayd  
that he was seek for the loue of her / Than hys frende  
sayd to hym Frende conforte your self / For trewly I  
gyue her to you to wyf wth alle the dowaire that  
is gyuen to me wth her / And had leuer to suffre to  
be wth oute wyf than to lese the body of his frende.  
And than he of Bandach wedded the mayde .



Ande wente wyth his wyf ande wyth his richesse apen  
m to his contrey Ande after this anone after hit happend  
that the marchant of Egipte he cam so poure by euill for  
tune / that he was constrainede to seche ande begge his  
brede by the contrey m so moche that he cam to bandach.  
Ande whan he entrid m to the toun hit was derke nyght  
that he coude not fynde the hows of his frende / But wente  
ande laye this nyght m an olde temple / Ande on the morn  
whan he shold pssue oute of the temple / the officers of  
the toun arestid hym ande sayd that he was an homicide  
ande had slayn a man whiche laye there dede Ande anon  
he confessid hit wyth a good wyll / Ande had leuyr to  
ben hangid / than to dye m that myserable ande poure spf  
that he suffrid Ande thus whan he was brought to Iuge  
ment Ande sentence shold haue ben gguen aenst hym as  
an homicide / his frende of bandach cam ande sawe hym  
ande anone knewe p this was his good frende of Egipte  
Ande forthwyth stept m ande sayde that he hym self was  
culpable of the deeth of this man / ande not that other / ande  
enforcede hym m alle maners for to despuer ande excuse  
that other / Ande than whan that he that had don the feet  
ande had slayn the man sawe this thyng / he considerid  
m hym self that these two men were Innocente. of this  
feet / Ande doubtyng the dypyn Jugement he cam to fore  
the Iuge ande confessid alle the feet by ordre / Ande whan  
the Iuge sawe ande herd alle this mater / ande also the  
causes he considerid the ferme ande trewe loue that was  
betwene the two frendes Ande vnderstode the cause why  
that one wold saue that other / ande the trouth of the  
fayte of the homicide Ande than he pardoned alle the feet  
spolly ande entierly / ande after the marchant of bandach

brought hym of egypte wyth hym to his house/ and gaf  
to hym his suster in marriage/ and departid to hym half his  
goodes/ And so bothe of hem were riche/ And thus were  
they bothe veray faythfull and trewe frendes/ Further  
more Notaires. men of lawe and crafty men shold and  
ought to loue eche other And also ought to be contynent  
chaste and honeste/ For by theyr craftes they ought so to be  
by necessite/ For they conuerse and accompanye them ofte  
tyme with women And therfor hit apperteyneth to them  
to be chaste and honeste And that they meue not the wo  
men ner entyse them to lawle/ and Jape by ony disordi  
nate ensignes or tokens/ Titus lupus referreth that the  
philosopher democron dyde do put oute his eyen for as  
moche as he myght not beholde the women wyth oute  
flesshely desire/ And how well hit is said before that he  
dide hit for othyr certayn cause yet was this one of the  
principall causes/ And Valerian telleth that ther was  
a yonge man of rome of ryght excellent beaute/ And  
how well that he was ryght chaste/ For as moche as  
his beaute meuryd many women to desyre hym/ in so  
moche that he vnderstode that the parents and frendes of  
them had suspencion in hym/ he dyde his visage to be cutte  
wyth a knyfe and lancettis endlonge and ouerthwart  
for to deforme his visage/ And had leuer haue a fowle  
visage and disformed/ than the beaute of hys visage  
shold meue othyr to synne/ And also we rede that ther  
was a Nonne a virgyne dyde do put oute bothe her eyen  
For as moche as the beaute of her eyen meuryd a kynge  
to loue her/ whych eyen she sente to the kynge in a pre  
sente/ And also we rede that plato the ryght wyse and  
wyse philosophre lefte hys owne lande and Contre.



And cheefe his mansion and dwellinge in a chadompe  
a towne / whiche was not only destroyed but also was  
full of pestelence / so that by the cure and charge and cus-  
tomance of sorowe that he there suffrid / myght eschewe  
the heetes and occasions of lecherie / And many of his  
disciples dyde in lyke wyse / Helemande reherceth that de-  
mostenes the philosopher lay ones by a right noble wo-  
man for his disporte / and playnge with her he demanded  
of her what he shold geue to haue to doo wyth her / And  
she answered to hym / a thousand pens / and he sayde  
agayn to her I shold repent me to bye hit so dere / And  
whan he aduysed hym that he was so sore chauffid to  
speke to her for taciophiss his fleshely desire / he dispo-  
led hym alle naked and wente and putte hym in the mid-  
des of the snowe And ouide reherceth that this thyng is  
the beste that maye helpe and moste greue the louers And  
therefore saynt Augustyn reherceth in his booke de Ciuitate  
dei that ther was a ryght noble romayne named marcu-  
lian that man and toke the noble cite of siracuse And to  
fore er he dyde do assaile hit or besyghte hit / and er he  
had do be shedde any blood / he wepte and shedde many  
teeres to fore the cite And that was for the cause that he  
doubted that his peple shold defoule and corruppe to  
moche dishonestly the chastyte of the toun And ordeyned  
vpon payne of deth that no man shold be so hardy to take  
and defoule any woman by force what that euer she  
were / After this the craftymen ought to vnderstande for  
to be trewe / and to haue trouthe in her mouthes And that  
theyr dedes folowe theyr wordes For he that sayth one  
thyng and doth another / he condemneth hym self by his  
wordes Also they ought to see well to that they be of one

Accorde in good. by entente. by word. and by dede / so that  
they ben not discordant in no maner / But every man have  
pure verite and trouthe in hym self / For godd hym self is  
pure verite / And men save compynly that trouthe seeketh  
none hermes ne corners / And trouthe is a vertu by the  
whiche alle drede and fraude is put away / Men save  
truly whan they save that they knowe / And they that  
knowe not trouthe / ought to knowe hit / And alle way  
use trouthe / For Saynt Austyn sayth that they that  
wene to knowe trouthe / And lyeth euill & viciously  
It is folpe yf he knoweth hit not / And also he sayth in  
an other place that it is better to suffer peyne for trouthe.  
Than for to haue a benefete by falsenes or by flaterie.  
And man that is calld a beste resonable and doth not  
his werkes after reson and trouthe / Is more bestiall  
than any beste brute / And knowe ye that for to come  
to the trouthe / Hit cometh of a reasonable forsyght in  
his mynde / And lyenge cometh of an outrageous and  
contrarie thought in his mynde / For he that lyeth we  
tyngly / Knoweth well that hit is agaynst the trouthe  
that he thynketh / And xros speketh Saynt Bernard  
and sayth / That the mouth that lyeth destroyeth the  
soule / And yet sayth Saynt Austyn in an other place  
For to save any thyng / And to doo the contrarie.  
maketh doctryne suspicious / And knowe ye verily that  
for to lye is a right perillous thyng to body and soule  
For the lye that the auncient enemye made Eve & adam  
to beleue hym / made hym for to be dampned wth alle  
theyr lignage to the deth pardurable And made hem to  
be cast out of Paradyse terrestre / For he made them  
to beleue that godd had not forboden them the fruyt.



But only be cause they shold not knowe that her maister  
knewe But how well that the deuyll said these wordes  
yet had she double entente to hem bothe. For they knewe  
anon as they had tasted of the frute that they were damp  
ned to the deth pardurable / And god knewe hit well  
to fore But they supposed well to haue knowen many  
other thynges And to be lyke vnto his knowleche and  
science And therefore sayth saynt poule in a pistyll / hit ne  
apperteyneth to saure or knowe more than beloueth to  
saure or knowe / but to sauoure or knowe by mesure or  
sobrenes / And valerian reherceth that ther was a good  
woman of siracusane that wold not lye vnto the kynge  
of sepylle whiche was namede dyonysse And this kynge  
was so full of tyrumpe and so cruell that alle the world  
desired his deth and curst hym / Sauf this woman  
onely whiche was so olde that she had seen thre or .iiii.  
kynge's reynynge in the contre / And euery mornynge as  
sone as she was risen she prayd to god that he wold  
goue vnto the tyrant good lyf and longe And that she  
myght neuer see his deth / And when the kynge dyonysse  
knewe this he sent for her And meruayllid moche herof  
For he knewe well that he was sore belated / And de  
maunded her / what cause meurd her to pray for hym.  
And she answered and said to hym Syrre when I was  
a mayde we had a right euill tyrant to our kynge of  
whom we coueyted sore the deth And when he was dede  
ther cam after hym a worse of whom we coueyted also  
the deth / And when we were deliuerd of hym / thou  
camst to be our lord whiche art worse of alle other.  
And now I doubt if we haue one after the he shall be  
worse than thou art / And therefore I shall pray for the

And whan dionysse vnderstod that she was so hardy in  
sayyng the truthe / he durste not doo tomente her for  
hame be cause she was so olde .

The fourth chapitre of the thirde booke treteth of the  
maner of the fourth pawn and of the marchants or  
changers .

**T**he fourth pawn is sette to for the kyng And  
is formed in the fourme of a man holdyng in his  
ryght hand a balance / And the weyght in the  
lyfte hand And to fore hym a table And at his gurdell  
a purse fulle of monere redy for to gyue to them that re  
quyre hit And by this peple ben signefied the marchants  
of cloth lymen and wollen and of all other marchandises  
And by the table that is to for hym is signefied p chan  
geurs / And they that lene money / And they that bye a  
selle by the weyght ben signefied by the balances and  
weyght And the customers tollers and resseruours of  
rentes and of money ben signefied by the purse And knowe  
ye that alle they that ben signefied by this peple ought to  
flee auarice and couetyse / And eschewe brekyng of the  
dayes of payement / And ought to holde and kepe theyr  
promysse / And ought also to rendre and restore p that is  
gyuen to them to kepe / And therfor hit is reson that this  
peple be sette to for p kyng for as moche as they signifie  
the resseruours of the tresours roiall that ought all way  
to be redy to fore p kyng and to answeere for hym to the  
knyghtes and other persones for their wages and souldyes  
And therfor haue I sayd that they ought to flee auarice .  
For auarice is as moche to say as an adourer or as wor  
shipper of fals ymages / a herof saith Tullius that auarice  
is a couetyse to gete p thynge that is aboue necessite / and it is a



Some disordmate to haue any thyng And it is one of the  
werst thyngis that is And specially to prynces and to  
them that gouerne the thynges of the comunete And this  
vice causeth a man to do euyl / And this dorynge euyl is  
whan hit regneth in olde men And herof saith Seneque  
That alle wordly thynges ben mortified and appetisside  
in olde men reserued avaryce only; whiche alleway abideth  
with hym and dyeth with hym But I vnderstande  
not well the cause wherof this cometh ne wherfore hit  
may be And hit is a fowle thyng and contrarie to reson  
That whan a man is at ende of his Journey for to lengthe  
his viage and to orderne more vitayll than hym beloueth  
And this may well be likened to the avarycious wolf  
For the wolf doth neuer good tyl he be dede And thus  
it is sayd in the prouerbis of the wisemen / that thauari-  
cious man doth no good tyl that he be dede / And he desi-  
reth no thyng but to lyue longe in this synne For the co-  
uetouse man certaynly is not good for any thyng For  
he is euyl to hymself and to the riche and to the poure.  
And fynde cause to gape saue theyr desire / and herof refer-  
ceth seneque and sayth that Antigonus was a couetous  
prynce / and whan Timque whiche was his frende requy-  
red of hym a besant / he answered to hym that he deman-  
ded more than hit apperteyned to hym And than timque  
constrayned by grete necessite arid and requyred of hym  
a peny / And he answered to hym that hit was no yeste  
couenable for a kynge and so he was allway redy to  
fynde a cause nought to gyue For he myght haue gyuen  
to hym a besant as a synge to his frende / And the peny  
as to a poure man And ther is no thyng so lypyl / but  
that the humanitye of a kynge may gyue hit Auarice full

of couetyse is a maner of alle vices of flurrie And Josephus referreth in the booke of auncient histories / that there was in Rome a right noble lady named Pauline / And was of the most noble of Rome / right honeste for the noblesse of chastete / whiche was marred in the tyme that the women glorified them in their chastete vnto a ponge man farr . noble . and riche aboue alle other / and was lyke and semblable to his wyf in alle maner / And this Pauline was beloued of a knight named cinmerancian And was so ardantly esprysed in her loue that he sente to her many right riche yestes / And made to her many grete promysse / But he might neuer toke the herte of her whiche was on her side also colde and harde as marbille But had leuer to refuse his yestes and his promysse . Than to entende to couetise and to lose her chastete / and we rede also in the histories of Rome that there was a noble lady of Rome / whiche luyde a solitarie lyf and was chaste and honeste / And had gadred to gyder a grete somme of gold / And had hid hit in the erthe in a pytte wyth in her house / And whan she was ded / the bisschop dyde to burye her in the church well and honestly / And anon after this gold was founden and bourn to the bisschop / And the bisschop bad to caste hit in to the pytte wher she was buried / And .iii. dayes men herd her crye and make grete noyse / and saie that she brenned in grete payne / and they herd her ofte tymes thus tormentid in þe church / the neighbours wente to the bisschop and tolde hym therof / and þe bisschop gaf hem leue to open the sepulchre / and whan they had opened hit / they fonde all the gold molten with fyre full of sulphre / And was poured and put in her mouth / and they herd one saie / thou desiredst this gold by couetyse



take hit ande drynke hit / Ande than they toke the body  
out of the tombe Ande hit was cast oute in a preuy place  
Senecue reherceth in the booke of the cypes of women  
that auarice is foundement of alle vices / Ande valerian  
reherceth that auarice is a ferdfull garde or kepar of ry-  
chessie for he that hath on hym or in his keepnge moche  
money or other rychessie / is all way a ferd to lose hit  
or to be robbid or to be slayn therefore / Ande he is not  
enourous ner happy that by couetyse geteth hit / Ande alle  
the euyls of this vice of auarice had a man of rome na-  
med septemulle For he was a frende of one named tar-  
chus Ande this septemulle brente so sore ande so cruelly in  
this synne of couetyse / that he had no shame to synne of  
the hede of his frende by trayson / For as moche as one  
framoshian had promysed to hym as moche weyght of  
pure gold as the hede weyed Ande he bare the sayd hede  
vpon a staf thurgh the cite of rome / ande he wyded the  
brayn out therof ande fylde hit full of leed for to wepe  
the heuer This was a right horrible ande cruell auarice  
Ptolome kynge of the Egipcians poursewed auarice in  
an other manere For whan anthome emperour of rome  
sawe that he was right riche of gold ande siluer / he had  
hym in grete hate ande tormentid hym right cruelly Ande  
whan he shold perishe be cause of his richessie / he toke  
alle his hauor ande put hit in a shippe Ande wente wyth  
alle in to the hye see to thende for to drowne ande perishe  
there the shippe ande his rychesses be cause Anthonia his  
enemye shold not haue hit / Ande whan he was there he  
durst not perishe hit ner myght not fynde in his herte to  
departe from hit, but cam ande brought hit agayn in to his  
howes where he resseyuyde the reward of deth therefore.

And w<sup>th</sup> oute doubt he was not lord of the riches.  
But the riches was lady ouer hym / And therfore hit is  
sayd in prouerbe that a man ought to seignorye ouer the  
riches / and not for to serue hit / and yf thou canst deuolye  
use thy riches than she is thy chamberper / And yf  
thou cannot departe from hit and use hit honestly at thy  
playse / knowe verily y<sup>e</sup> she is thy lady. For the riches  
neuer satisfieth the couetouse / but the more he hath / the  
more he desireth / And saluste sayth that auarice distour  
blyth furth poeste honeste and alle these other good ver  
tues / And taketh for these vertues pryde. cruelte. And  
to forgete god / And saith that alle thynges be vendable  
And after this they ought to be ware that they lene not  
to moche / ner make so grete creances by which they may  
falle in pouerte / For saynt Ambrose saith vpon to bre.  
pouerte hath no lawe for to owe hit is a shame / a to owe  
and not paye is a more shame / yf y<sup>e</sup> be poure beware how  
thou borowest / and thinke how thou maist paye a rendre  
agayn yf y<sup>e</sup> be ryche y<sup>e</sup> hast none nede to borowe a are / a it  
is said in the prouerbes y<sup>e</sup> hit is fraude to take / that y<sup>e</sup> wilt  
not ner maist rendre a paye agayn / and also hit is said in  
reproche / whan I lene I am thy frende / a whan I are I am  
thy enemye / as wo saith / god at the lentyng / a the deuyll  
at rendryng / And seneque sayth in his auctorites / that  
they y<sup>e</sup> gladly borowe / ought gladly to paye / and ought  
to surmonte in corage to loue hem the better be cause they  
lene hem a ayde hem in her nede / For for benefetes a good  
turnes don to a man ought to gyue hym thankinges ther  
fore / And moche more ought a man to repaye that he  
lente hym in his nede / But now in these dayes many  
men by lentyng of their money haue made of their frendes



enemies / And herof speketh Thomas the philosopher  
and sayth that my frende borrowed money of me / And  
I haue lost my frende and my money attones / Ther was  
a marchant of Gene & also a chaungeour / whose name  
was Albert gauoz / And this albert was a man of grette  
trouth and loyaulte / for on a tyme ther was a man cam  
to hym and saide & affermed that he had deliuered m to  
his banke .v. hunderd floryns of golde to kepe whiche  
was not trouth for he lyed / whych the fyue hunderd flo  
ryns the saide Albert knewe not of / ner coude fynde m all  
hys bookes ony suche money to hym due And this lyar  
coude not brynge no wytnesse / but began to braye . crye  
and deffame the saide albert And than this Albert callide  
to hym this marchant and sayd / Were frende take here  
.v. hunderd florms whych thou affermest and sayst  
that thou hast deliuered to me And forthwyth tolde hem  
and toke hem to hym And so this good man had leuer to  
lose his good than his good name and renome And this  
other marchant toke these florms that he had wrong  
fully receyved / and employed them m diuerce marchan  
dise m so moche that he gate and encreased and wan with  
them .xv. thousand florms And whan he sawe that he  
approchide to ward his deth / and that he had no children  
He establisshid albert his heyr m alle thingis And sayd  
that with the .v. hunderd florms that he had receyved  
of albert falsely / he had gotten alle y<sup>e</sup> he had m the world  
And thus by dypurue pourueance he that had be a theef  
fraudent / was made after ward a trewe procurour  
and attorney of the sayd albert / But now m this dayes  
ther ben marchauns that do marchandise with other mens  
money whiche is taken to hem to kepe / And whan they

Ben requyred to repaye hit they haue no shame to denye  
hit appertly / Wherof hit happend that ther was a mar-  
chant whiche had a good & a grete name and renome  
of keppnge well suche thynges as was deliuered to  
hym to kepe / But whan he sawe place and tyme / he  
reternyd hys lyke a theef / So hys befelle that a mar-  
chant of withoute forth herd the good reporte & fame  
of this man / cam to hym and deliuerid hym grete tresour  
to kepe / And this tresour abode thre yer in his keppnge .  
And after this thre yer this marchant cam & requyred  
to haue hys good deliuerd to hym agayn / And this  
man knewe well that he had no recorde ne wytnes to  
preue on hym this duete / Nor he had no obligation ne  
wrytyng of hym therof / In suche wyse that he denyed  
alle entperly / And sayd playnly he knewe hym not .  
And whan this good man herd and vnderstode this .  
he wente sorowfully and wepyng from hym so ferre  
and longe that an old woman mette wyth hym / And  
demanded of hym the cause of hys wepyng / And he  
sayd to her / woman hit appertyneth no thyng to the  
Go thy way / And she prayd hym that he wold telle  
her the cause of hys sorowe / For parauenture she  
myght geue hym counceyll good and proufftable .  
And than this man told to her by ordre the mas of his  
fortune / And the old woman that was wyse & sub-  
tyll demanded of hym yf he had in that cite ony frende  
whiche wold be faythfull and trewe to hym And he  
sayd yf that he had dyuerce frendes / Than said she goo  
thou to them and saye to them that they do ordeyne and  
bye dyuerce cofres & chestie / And that they do selle them  
with som olde thynges of no value / and that they saye



And saye that they be full of gold. siluer ⁊ other Jewels  
and of moche grete tresour / And than that they bryng  
them to this sayd marchant And to saye to hym that he  
wold kepe them / For as moche as they had grete trust  
and affiance in hym And also that they haue herd of his  
grete trouthe and good renome / And also they wold  
goo in to a fer contree And shold be longe er they retorned  
agayn And whilis they speke to hym of this mater / thou  
shalt come vpon them and requyre hym that he do deliuer  
to the / that thou tokest to hym / And I trowe be cause of  
tho good men that than shall profre to hym the sayd tre-  
sour / And for the couetise to haue hit / he shall deliuer to  
the thy good agayn / But beware late hym not knowe in  
no wyse that they ben thy frendes ner of thy knowleche  
This was a grete and good councell of a woman And  
verily hit cometh of nature oftentymes to women to geue  
councell shortly and vnauspably to thynges that ben in  
doute or perillous and nedeth hasty remedye / And as ye  
haue herd / this good man dyde And dyde after her coun-  
cell And cam vpon them whan they spak of the mater  
to the marchant for to deliuer to hym the sayd cofres to  
kepe whiche his frendes had sayned and requyred of  
hym that he had taken to hym to kepe / and than anon the  
sayd marchant sayd to hym I knowe the now well .  
For I haue aused me that thou art suche a man / And  
camst to me suche a tyme / And deliuerest to me suche a  
thyng whiche I haue well kept / And than calld his  
clerk / and bad hym goo fetche suche a thyng in suche a  
place / and deliuer hit to that good man For he deliuered  
hit to me / And than the good man receyued his good .  
And wente his way right ioyously and gladd / And

this marchant trycheur and deceyuour was defrauded  
from his euill malice / And he ne had neyther that one  
ne that other ony thyng that was of value / And ther  
fore hit is sayd in prouerbe to defraude the begynlar is  
no fraude / And he that doth well foloweth oure lord  
And seneke saith that charyte enseyneth and teacheth  
that men shold paye well For good payement is some  
tyme good confession / And this marchant trycheur a  
deceyuour resembleth a is lyke to an hound that bereth  
a chese in his mouth whan he swymmeth ouer a watre  
For whan he is on the watre He seeth the shadowe of  
the chese in the watre / And than he weneth hit be an  
other chese / And for couetyse to haue that he openeth his  
mouth to catch that / And than the chese that he bare  
fallyth down in to the watre / And thus he loseth bothe  
two / And in the same wise was serupd this marchant  
deceyuour / For for to haue the coffres / whiche he had  
not seen / He deliuerd agayn that he wold haue holden  
wrongfully a thus by his couetise and propre malice he  
was deceyvd / And therefore hit apperteyneth to euery  
good a wyse man to knowe a considere in hym self how  
moche he had resseyvd of other men / And vpon what  
condicion hit was deliuerd to hym And hit is to wete of  
this thyng apperteyneth to resseyuours a to chaungeours  
And to alle true marchans and other what som euer  
they be / and ought to kepe their bookes of resaytes a of  
payements of whom a to whom and what tyme a day  
and if he demande what thyng makyth them to forgete  
suche thynges as ben taken to them to kepe I answeare a  
saye that hit is grete couetyse for to haue tho thynges to  
them self and neuer to departe from them / And hit is all



her thought and desire to assemble alle the goodz that they  
may gete. For they beleue on none other godz / but on her  
richesse thei her hertes ben so obstynat / and this sufficeth  
of the marchantes.

This fyfth chapitre of the thirde booke treteth of phis  
iciens spicers and Apotiquaries.

**T**he parwōn that is sette to fore the quene signe  
fyeth the phisicien / spicer and Apotiquaire / and  
is formed in the figure of a man / And he is sette  
in a chayer as a maystre and holdeth in his right hand a  
book / And an ample or a bore wyth oynementis in his  
lyft hand / And at his gurdell his instrumentis of yron  
and of siluer for to make Incisions and to serche woun  
des and hurtis / and to cutte apostumes / And by the se  
thynges ben knowen the cyrurgens / By the book ben  
vnderstanden the phisiciens / and alle gramaryens . logi  
cens / maistres of lawe . of Geometrie . Arismetrique .  
musique and of astronomie / And by the ampole / ben  
signified the makers of pigmentaries spicers and apoti  
quaries / and they that make confections and confytes  
and medecynes made wyth precyous spyes And by the  
fyrrements and instrumentis that hangen on the gurdell  
ben signified the cyrurgens and the maistres And knowe  
re for certain that a maystre and phisicien ought to knowe  
the propozions of lettres of gramayre / the monemens  
the conclusions and the sophisms of logyque . the gracio  
speche and vtterance of rethorique / the mesures of the  
houres and dayes / and of the cours and astronomie / the  
nombre of arismetrike / and the joyous songes of musique  
And of alle these tofore named / the maistres of retho  
rique ben the chiefe maistres in speculatyf / And the two

laste that ben practisiens ande workers ben callyd phisicians  
and surgeons / how well they ben sage and  
curpous in thysse sciences / Ande how well that mannes  
lyf is otherwhyle put in thordonance of the phisicien or  
surgyen / yf he haue not sageesse ande wysedom in hym  
self of dyuerce wytynges ande is not expert / Ande mede  
lyth hym in the craft of phisique / He ought better be  
callyd a shear of peple than a phisicien or surgyen .  
For he may not be a maystre but yf he be sewre ande  
expert in the craft of phisike that he see not moo thm  
he cureth ande maketh hool / Ande therfore sayth Aup  
cenne in an Enphorime / yf thou curest the seke man .  
Ande knowest not the cause / wherof the maladye ought  
to be cured / Wit ought to be sayd that thou hast cured  
hym by fortune ande happe more than by any compynge .  
Ande in alle thysse maner of peple / Ther ought to be  
meurte of good maners / Curtosie of wordes / Chastite  
of the body promysse of helthe / Ande as to them that  
ben seke contynuell visitacion of them / Ande they ought  
to enquire the cause of there sickenessis ande the spgnes  
and tokens of there maladyes / As is rehersed in the  
bookes of the auctours by ryght grete diligence / Ande spe  
cially in the bookes of ypocras galpene ande of Aupcenne  
Ande whan many maysters ande phisiciens ben assen  
bled to fore the pacient or seke man / They ought not  
there to argue ande dispute one agaynst an other / But  
they ought to make good ande symple colacion to geder .  
In suche wyse as they be not seen in there desputynge one  
agaynst an other / for to encroche ande gete more glorie  
of the world to them self / than to trete the salute ande  
helthe of the pacient and seke man / I meruayll why that



whan they see and knowe that whan the seke man hath  
grette nede of helthe wherfore than they make gretter ob-  
iection of contrariounes for as moche as the lyf of man  
is demened and put amonge them but hit is be cause that  
he is reputed most sage and wise that argueth and bryn-  
geth in mooste subtyltes / And alle this maner is amonge  
doctours of lawe that treteth no thyng of mannes lyf.  
But of temporelle thynges / that he is holden most wyse  
and best lerned / that by his counceyll can beste acorde the  
contencions and discencions of men And therfore ought  
the phisiciens and cyrurgyens leue whan they be to fore  
the seke men alle diffencions and contrariounes of wor-  
des / in such wyse that hit appere that they studie more  
for to cure the seke men than for to dispute And therfore  
is the phisicien dully sette to fore the quene / So that it is  
figured that he ought to haue in hym self chastite and con-  
tynence of body. For hit apperteyneth somtyme vnto the  
phisicien to visite and cure Quenes duchesses and coun-  
tesses and alle other ladyes and see and beholde some  
secrete sekenessis that falle and come otherwhyle in the  
secretis of nature And therfore hit apperteyneth to them  
that they be chaste and folowe honeste and chastite / and  
that they be ensample to other of good contynence / For  
valerian reherceth that ypocras was of meruayllous con-  
tynence of his body / For whan he was in the scoles of  
Athenes / he had by hym a ryght fayr woman wherche  
was comyn And the yonge scolers and the joly felawes  
that were students promysyd to the woman a besant / yf  
she myght or coude torne the corage of ypocras for to  
haue to doon wyth her / And she cam to hym by nyght  
and dyde so moche by her craft that she lape wyth hym

in his bedde/ but she woulde neuer do so moche y<sup>e</sup> she myght  
corrupte his chaste luyngge ne defoule the crowne of his  
conscience/ and whan the yonge men knewe that she had  
ben with hym all the night And coude not chaunge his  
contynence/ they began to moque her/ And to axe and  
demande of her the besant that they had gyuen to her.  
And she answered That hit was holden & gaged vpon  
an ymage/ For as moche as she myght not change his  
contynence she calld hym an ymage/ And in semblable  
wyse reherceth Valerian of Scenocrates philosopher  
that ther laye with hym a woman all night And tempt  
ed hym disordinatly/ but that ryght chaste man made  
neuer semblant to her/ Mer he neuer remeu'd from his  
ferme purpoos/ In suche wyse as she departid from hym  
alle confusid and shamed/ Cornelius Scipion that was  
sent by the romayns for to gouerne spayne/ as sone as he  
entryd in to the castellis & in to the towne of that lande  
He began to take away all the thynges that myght styre  
or meue his men to lecherie wherfore men sayd that he  
drof & chaced oute of the oste moo than two thousand  
bourdellys/ And he that was wyse knewe well that  
despte of lecherie corrupted and apayred the corages of  
tho men that ben abandomed to that same despte/ And  
herof hit is sayd in the fables of the poetes in the first  
book of the Truphes of the Philosophers by figure.  
That they that entryd in to the fontayne of the hyenes or  
mermaydens/ were corrupide and they toke them away  
with hem/ And also ye ought to knowe that they ought  
to entende diligently to the cures of the enfermytees in  
cyrugerie/ They ought to make their playsters acor  
dyng to the woundes or sores/ yf the wounde be rounde



The enplastre must be rounde / ande yf hys be longe / hys  
muste be longe / ande otherwhyle hit muste be curede by his  
contrarye / lyke as hit apperteyneth to phisique / For the  
hete is curede by colde / ande the colde by hete / ande Joye by  
sorowe / ande sorowe by Joye / ande hit happeth ofte tymes  
that moche peple be in grete paynt in takynge to moche  
Joye ande lese her membris / ande become half benomen in  
the sodayn Joye / Ande Joye is a replecion of thyng that  
is delectable spradd a brode in all the membris with right  
grete gladnes Ande all men entende ande desire to haue the  
sayd ryght grete Joye naturelly / But they knowe not  
what may ensue ande come therof Ande this Joye cometh  
otherwhyle of vertue of conscience / Ande the wyse man  
is not wyth out this Joye Ande this Joye is neuer Inter-  
rupt ne in default at no tyme For hit cometh of nature  
Ande fortune may not take a waye that nature geueth .  
Ande merciaill saith that Joyes fugitiues abide not longe  
But flee away anon Ande valerian reherceth that he that  
hath force ande strength reasonable / hath hit of verray  
matier of complection ande that cometh of loue Ande this  
Joye hath as moche power to departe the soule fro the  
body / as hath the thondre / wherof hit happend that ther  
was a woman namede syna whiche had her husbonde  
in the warre in the shippis of the romayns / Ande she sup-  
posed verily that he was dede / But hit happend that he  
cam agayn home Ande as he entred in to his yate / his wif  
met wyth hym so deynly not warned of his comynge .  
whiche was so gladd ande Joyous / that in embrasyng  
hym she fell down dede Also of an other woman to whom  
was reportid by a fals messenger that her sone was  
dede / whiche wente home sorowfully to her hows / Ande

afterward when her son came to her / As soon as she  
saw him / she was so moved with joye þ she deyd  
to fore him / But this is not so grette meruaylle of wo-  
men as is of the men / For the women ben likened vnto  
softe ware or softe aper and therfor she is callid mulier  
whiche is as moche to saye in latyn as molles aer.  
And in english softe aper / And hit happeth ofte tymes  
that the nature of them that ben softe and mole / taketh  
sonner Inpression than the nature of men that is rude  
and stronge / Valerius reherceth a sayth that a knyght  
of rome named Instaulosus that had newly conquerid  
and subiuged the yle of Corsika / And as he sacrificed  
his goddes / he receyved lettres from the senate of rome  
in whiche were contented diuerse supplicacions / The  
whiche when he vnderstood he was so gladd and so  
enterprysed wyth joye that he knewe not what to doo  
And than a grette funne or smoke issued out of the fyre  
in whiche he dyspayred and fell in to the fyre where  
he was anone ded / And also it is sayd that Philo-  
menus lawhed so sore and distemperatly that he deyd  
alle lawhyng / And we rede that ppoeras the phisicien  
fonde remedye for thys joye / For when he had longe  
dwellid oute of his contreye for to lerne connyng and  
wysedom / And shold retorne vnto his parentis and  
freendes / when he approchid nyghe them / He sente a  
messenger to fore for to telle to them his comynge / and  
comanded him to saye that he cam / for they had not longe  
to fore seen him / And þ they shold attempte them in that  
joye er they shold see him / And also we rede that Titus  
the sone of vaspasian when he had conquerid Iherusalem  
and abode in þ contrees by he herde þ his fader vaspasian

6 filiis  
aspasian



was chosen by alle the senate for to gouerne the empire  
of rome / wherfore he had so right grete Joye that soday  
ynly he loste the strength of all his membres And he cam  
all Impotent And whan Josephus that made the historie  
of the romayns agens the Jewis / whiche was a ryght  
wyse physician sawe and knewe the cause of this sickness  
of the sayd Titus / he enquired of his folk yf he had in  
hate any man gretly so moche that he myght not here  
speke of hym ner well see hym And one of the seruantes  
of Titus sayd that he had one persone in hate so moche.  
That ther was no man in his court so hardy that durste  
name hym in his presence / and than Josephus assigned a  
day. whan this man shold come / and ordeyned a table  
to sette in sight of Titus / and dide hit to be replenysht  
plenteuously wyth alle dayntees / and ordeyned men to  
be armed to kepe hym in suche wyse that no man shold  
hurte hym by the comandement of Titus / and ordeyned  
bouteillers. Coques / and other officers for to serue hym  
worshipfully lyke an Empour / and whan all this was  
redy / Josephus brought in this man that tytus hated and  
sette hym at the table to fore his eyen and was seruyd of  
ponge men wyth grete reuerence ryght cortoisly / And  
whan titus behelde his enemye sette to fore hym wyth so  
grete honour / He began to chauffe hym self by grete  
felomye And comanded his men that this man shold be  
slayn / And whan he sawe / that none wold obeye hym  
But that they all way seruyd hym reuerently / he ware  
so ardante / and embrasyd wyth so grete yre / that he that  
had lost alle the force and strength of his body and  
was alle Impotent in alle his membres / Recoured the  
helthe agayn and strenghte of his membres / by the herte

that entred in to the vapnes and finewois And Josephus  
dide so moche that he was recoverid and hole/ And that  
he helde that man no more for his enemye/ but helde hym  
for a verray true frende / And afterwarde made hym his  
loyall fellowe and compaignon And the espicers and  
Apotecaries ought to make truly suche thynges as is  
comanded to them by the physiciens / And they ought  
to accomplishe theyr billis and charge curiously w<sup>th</sup>  
grette diligence / that for none other cause they shold be  
ocupied but in makinge medicynes or confectiōs truly .  
And that they ought vpon payll of theyr soule not  
to forgete/ by negligence ne rechelesnes to geue one mede  
cyne for an other/ In suche wyse that they be not feare  
of men / And that they do putte no false thynges in  
her spyces for to empayre or encrecyng the weyght .  
For yf they so do they may better be calld theurs  
than espicers or apotecaries / And they that ben acusto  
med to make opnements they ought to make hrt pro  
prely of true stuf and of good odoure after the receptes  
of the auncyent doctours / And after the forme that the  
physiciens and cyrurgens deuise vnto them/ Also they  
ought to beware that for none auayle ne gyfte that they  
myght haue/ that they put in theyr medicynes no thyng  
venemous ner doyng hurte or scathe to any persone of  
whom they haue none good ne verray knowlege/ to thende  
that they to whom the medicynes shold be gyven/ tozue  
not to them hurte ne damage / ne in destructions of theyr  
neighbouris/ and also that they that haue mynystrid tho  
thyngis to them/ ben not taken for parteners of the blame  
and of the synne of them The cyrurgens ought also to  
be debonayr. amiable . and to haue ppye of their patients .



And also they ought not be hasty to launse and cutte  
apostumes and soores / ne open the heedes / ner to arrache  
bones broken / but yf the cause be apparant / For they  
myght elles lose theyr good renome And myght better  
be callyd bouchers than helars or guariss hors of woun  
des and soores And also hit behoueth that alle this ma  
ner of peple foresayd that haue the charge for to make  
hole and guarisshe alle maner of maladies and Infir  
mities that they first haue the cure of them self / and they  
ought to purge them self fro alle apostumes and alle vi  
ces / In suche wyse that they be net and honeste and en  
formed m alle good maners / And that they shewe hem  
hole and pure a redy for to hele other And herof sayth  
Boecius de Consolacione In his first booke that the ster  
res that ben hid vnder the clowdes maye gyue no light.  
And therefore yf ony man wole beholde clerly the verite.  
Late hym wythdrawe hym fro the obscurete and der  
kenes of the clowdes of ignorance / for whan the engyne  
of a man sheweth m ioye or m sorowe / The pensee or  
thought is enuoluped m obscurete a vnder the clowdes.  
The sixthe chapitre of the thirde booke treteth of the  
sixth pawon / whiche is lykened to tauerners hostelers  
and vitayllers.

**T**he sixthe pawon whiche standeth to fore the  
Alphyn on the lyfte syde is made m thys forme.  
For hit is a man that hath the right hande strac  
ched out as for to calle men / And holdeth m his lyfte  
hande a loof of breed and a cuppe of wyne / And on his  
gurdell hangynge a boudest of keyes / And this resem  
bleth the Tauerners . hostelers . and sellars of vitaylle.  
And this ought properly to be sette to fore the Alphyn

as to fore a Juge. For ther fourth of tyme amonge  
hem contencion noyse and stryf / whiche beloueth to be  
determined and tryed by the almyghty / whiche is Juge  
of the kynge / And hit apperteyneth to them for to seeke  
and enquire for good wyne and good vitayll for to  
gyue and selle to the byers / And to them that they her  
berowe / And hit apperteyneth to them well to kepe  
their herberowes and junes / and alle the thyngis that  
they brynge in to their loggynge and for to putte hit in  
seure and sauf warde and keepynge / And the firste of  
them is signefied by the lyfte hande in whiche he bereth  
brede and wyne / and the secunde is signefied by the right  
hande whiche is stretchyd out to calle men / And the  
thirde is representid by the keyes hangynge on þe gurdell  
And thys maner of peple ought to schewe the speme of  
glotony / For moche peple comen in to their howses  
for to drynke and to ete for whiche cause they ought  
reasonably to reuole them self and to refrayne them from  
to moche mete and drynke / to thende that they myght  
the more honestly deliuer thyngis nedefull vnto the pe  
ple that come vnto them / And no thyng by oultrage  
that myght noye the body / For hit happeth of tyme  
that ther cometh of glotony tencrons . stryfs . rottes .  
wronges . and molestacions / by whiche men lese other  
while their handes . their eyen . and other of their mem  
bres / And somtyme ber . steyn or hurt vnto the deth / As  
it is wroton In vitas patrum As on a tyme an heremyte  
wente for to visite his gossibis / And the deuyll apperyd  
to hym on the waye in lyknes of an other heremyte for  
to tempte hym / and saide thou hast lefte thy heremitage  
And goost to visite thy gossibis / The beloueth by force



to doo one of þe thre thynges that I shall saye to the/ thou  
shalt chese whether thou wylt be dronke/ or elles haue  
to do flessly wyth thy goosib or elles thou shalt sle her  
husbond/ whiche is thy goosip also / And the hermyte  
that thought for to chese the leste euyl chace for to be  
dronke/ and whan he cam vnto them he dranke so moche  
that he was veruy dronke And whan he was dronke  
and eschauffed wyth the wyne / he wold haue a doo  
wyth hys goosib / And her husbonde wythstode hym.  
And than the hermyte slew hym / And after that lape  
by his goosib and knewe her flessly / And thus by this  
spynne of dronkenship he accomplisshid the two other  
spynnes / By whych the thynges ye may vnderstande and  
knowe þe whan the deuyl wyl take one of the castellis  
of Ihesu cryst / that is to wete the body of a man or of a  
woman / he doth as a prynce that setteth a sieg to fore a  
castell that he wold wyne/ whiche entredeth to wyne  
the gate / For he knoweth well whan he hath wonne  
the gate / he may sone doo hys wyll wyth the castell.  
And my lyke wyse doth the deuyl wyth euery man and  
woman For whan he hath wonne the gate / that is to  
wete the gate of þe mouth by glotonye or by other synne  
He may doo wyth the offices of the body alle his wyll  
as ye haue herd to fore / And therefore ought euery man  
ete and drynke sobrelly in suche wyse as he may lyue.  
And not lyue to ete glotonly a for to drynke dronke.  
ye see comunly that a grette hole is suffisid wyth right a  
littell pasture / And that a wode suffiseth to many oles  
fauntres And hit beloueth a man to be fedde by the erthe  
or by the see / neuertheles it is no grette thyng to fede the  
bely / no thyng so grette as is the desyre of many metes.

Wherof Quynthilian sayth/ That hit happeth ofte tymes  
in grete festes & dyners / that we be fylde wpyth the sight  
of the noble and richorous metis and whan we wolde  
ete we ben faciat and fild / And therfore hit is sayd in  
prouerbe/ hit is better to fylle the bely than the eye / And  
Lucan sayth that glotonye is the moder of alle vices/ and  
especiall of lecherie/ and also is destroyer of all goodes  
And may not haue suffisance of hit self thyng / A coue-  
tous honger what sekest thou mete and vitayllis on the  
lande & in the see / And thy Joye is nothyng ellis but to  
haue playnteuous dyslikes & well fylde at thy table lerne  
how men may demene his self wpyth hit self thyng / And  
Cathon sayth in no wyse obeye to glotonye whiche is  
frende to lecherie/ And the holy doctour saynt Augustyn  
sayth / the wyne eschauffeth the bely that falleth anone  
to lecherie/ The bely and the members engendrecours ben  
neryghbouris to lecherie/ And thus the vice of glotonye  
prouoketh lecherie/ wherof cometh forgettenes of his  
mynde and destruction of alle quyk and sharp reson  
And is cause of distempance of his wittes/ what synne  
is fouler than this synne and more strykyng ne more  
domageous / For this synne hath taken away the vertue  
of the man/ his prowesse languished/ his vertue is toz-  
ned to diffame / the strengthe of body and of courage is  
tozned by the / And therfore sayth Bahle le grant/ late  
ys take hede how we serue the bely & the throte by glo-  
tonye lyke as we were dymbe bestes/ and we studie for  
to be spke vnto belues of the see / to whom nature hath  
gyuen to be alleway enclined towards the erthe & ther  
to loke for to serue theyr helyers/ And herof saith Boe-  
tius de consolacione in his fourth book/ that a man that



spyrth and doth not the condicions of a man/ may neuer  
be in good condicion / Than muste hit nedes be that he be  
transported in nature of a beste or of a beue of the see.  
How well that ryght grete men and women full of  
meruayllous sciences and noble counceyll in thise dayes  
in the world ben kept and nourishid in this glotonye of  
wyn and metes; and ofte tymes ben ouerseen / how  
suppose ye is hit not right a perillous thinge that a lord  
or gouernour of the peple and comun wele / how well  
that he be wyse / yf he eschauffe hym sone so that p wyn  
or other drynke surpryse hym and ouercome his brayn.  
his wysedom is losse / For as Cathon sayth / Ire enpes-  
sheth the corage in such as he may not kepe verite and  
trouthe And anon as he is chauffed / lecherie is meupd  
in hym in such wyse that the lecherie maketh hym to  
medle in diuerse villains dedes / For than his wysedom  
is a slepe and goon / And therefore sayth Ouide in his  
booke De remedio amoris / yf thou take many and di-  
uerse wyne / they apparylle and enforce the corages to  
lecherie And Thobie witnesseth in his booke / that luxu-  
ry destroyeth the body and mynusheth riches / she  
loseth the soule / she febleth p strength she blyndeth the  
syght / and maketh the wyse hoos a rawe / Ha A ryght  
cupll and foule synne of dronkenhip / by the perisseth  
virginite / whiche is fuster of angellis possedynge alle  
goodnes and seurte of alle Joyes pardurable / Noe was  
one tyme so chauffed with wyn / that he discouerd and  
shewid to his sones his pryncipal membres in such wyse  
as one of his sones mocked hym / And that other co-  
uerd hym / And loth whiche was a man right chaste.  
was so assotid by moche drynkynge of wyn / that on

a montayne he knewe his doughters carnally/ And had  
to doo wpyth them as they had ben his propre wyues.  
And crete reherceth that boce whiche was flour of the  
men/treſor of rycheſſes / ſingular houſe of ſapience my  
rour of the world/ Our of good renome/ and glorie  
of his ſubgettis loſte alle theſe thynges by his lurye  
We haue ſeen that dyuerce that were joyned by grete  
ampte to geder whiles they were ſobre / that that one  
wolde put his body m paryſſ of deth for that other/ and  
whan they were eſchauffed with wyne & dronke / they  
haue ronne eche vpon other for to ſla hem/ And ſomme  
haue ben that haue ſlayn ſo his frende/ Herodes Antipas  
had not doon ſaynt John baptiſt to ben beſeded/ ne had p  
dyner ben full of glotonye and dronkenſhip/ Balthazar  
kyng of babilone had not ben chaced out of his kyng  
dom ne be ſlayn yf he had ben ſobre amonge his peple  
whom tyrus and daries fonde dronken and ſlewe hym  
The hoſtelers ought to be well beſpoken and courtys  
of wordes to them that they receyue m to their loggynge  
For ſayr ſpeche & joyous chiere & debonayr / cauſe men  
to gyue the hoſteler a good name / And therfore it is  
ſaid m a comyn prouerbe / Courtyſe langage and well  
ſaynge is moche worth and coſte lityll / And m an  
other place it is ſaid that curtyſie paſſeth beaulte/ Also  
for as moche as many paryls and aduentures may hap  
pen on the wayes and paſſages to hem that ben herbe  
rooed with m their yunes/ therfore they ought to accom  
panye them whan they departe and enſeine them the wa  
yes and telle to them the paryls / to thende that they may  
ſurely goo theyr viage and journey / And alſo they  
ought to kepe their bodies . their goodes / And the good



same and venome of their junes / we tede that loth whan  
he had receyved þ̄ angels in to his hous right debonairly  
whiche he had supposid had ben mortall men and stran-  
gers / to thende that they shold escape the disordmate  
and unnaturell synne of lecherie of the sodomites / by  
the vertu of good fayth / he sette a part the naturell loue  
of a fader / and proferd to them his daughters whiche  
were virgins / to thende that they shold kepe them and  
defende them fro that vylayne and horrible synne / And  
knowe ye for certayn that alle tho thynges that ben ta-  
ken and delueryd to kepe to the hoste or hostesses they  
ought to be sauf and yelden agayn wyth out a paymge  
For the ooste ought to knowe / wh̄ that entryth in to  
his hous for to be her berowhed taketh hit for his habi-  
tacion for the tyme / he hym self and alle suche thynges  
as he bryngeth wyth hym ben comfedy of ryght in the  
warde and keepnge of the host or hosteler And ought  
to be as sauf as they were put in his owen propre hous  
And also suche hostis ought to holde seruantes in their  
houses whiche shold be trewe and wyth out auarice  
In suche wise that they coueyte not to haue the goodes of  
their ghestes And that they take not a way the prouen-  
der fro thei horses whan hyt is gauen to them / that by  
tho occasion therof thei horses perisse not ne fayle thei  
maister whan they haue nede / and myght falle in the han-  
des of thei enemyes / For than sholde the seruantes be  
cause of that euyl / wherfore thei maisters shold see to  
For wyth out doubte this thyng is worse than thefte  
Hit happend on a tyme in the parties of lombardy in the  
cpte of Jene þ̄ a noble man was logged in an hostelerie  
wyth moche compaignye / And whan they had gauen

prouendour to their horses / In the first oure of the nyght,  
the seruant of the hous cam secretly to fore þ<sup>r</sup> horses for to  
stele away their prouender / And whan he cam to the loz  
des hors / The hors caught wyth his teth his Arme and  
helde hit faste that he myght not escape / And whan  
the theef sawe that he was so strongly holden / he began  
to crye for the grete payne that he suffred and felte / In  
suche wyse that the noble mannes myene cam with the  
hoste / But in no maner / ner for ought they coude doo  
They coude not take the theef out of the horses mouth  
vnto the tyme that the neyghbours whiche were noyed  
wyth the noise cam and sawe hit / And than the theef  
was knowen and taken and brought to fore the Iuge  
And confessid the feet and by sentence diffynct was  
hanged and lost his lyf / And in the same wyse was  
an other that dyde so / And the hors smote hym in the  
visage / That the prynte of the horse shoo and nayles  
abode euer in his visage / Another was right cruell and  
villaynous fylle at tholouse / Hit happend a Jonge man  
and his fader wente a pilgrimage to saynt James in  
Galysce And were logged in an hostelrye of an euill  
host and full of right grete couetyse / In so moche that  
he desired and coueyted the goodes of the two pilgrimes  
And here vpon auyseid hym and put a cuppe of siluer se  
cretly in the male that the yonge man bare / And whan  
they departed oute of their loggynge / he folowed after  
hem and sayd to fore the peple of the court that they  
had stolen and born away his cuppe / And the yonge  
man excused hym self and his fader / And sayde they  
were Inuocent of that mas / And than they serchid hem  
and the cuppe was founden in þ<sup>r</sup> male of the yonge man



And forthwith he was dampned to the det<sup>h</sup> and han-  
ged as a theef/ and this feet don all the goodes that lan-  
ged to the pilgrym were deliuered to p<sup>r</sup> oost as cōfisquede  
And than the fader wente for to do his pilgremage/ and  
whan he cam agayn he muste nedes come a passe by the  
place where his sone henge on the gibet And as he cam  
he complayned to god and to saynt James how they  
might suffre this auenture to come vnto his sone/ Anone  
his sone that henge spack to his fader And sayde how  
that saynt James had kepte hym with out harme And  
bad his fader goo to the Juge and shewe to hym the my-  
racle/ And how he was Innocent of that fapte/ And  
whan this thyng was knowen the sone of the pilgryme  
was taken down fro p<sup>r</sup> gibet/ and the cause was brought  
to fore the Juge And the hōste was accused of the tray-  
son/ and he confessid his trespass/ and sayde he dide hit  
for couetyse to haue his good And than the Juge damp-  
ned hym for to be hanged on the same gibet where as the  
yonge pilgryme was hanged And that I haue sayde of  
the seruantes beyng men/ the same I saye of the women  
as chambriers and tapsters For semblable was fille in  
spayne at saynt dome of a chamberier that put a cup in  
lyke wyse in the scrip of a pilgryme/ be cause he wolde  
not haue a doo with her in the synne of lecherie/ wher-  
fore he was hanged And his fader and moder that were  
there with hym wente and dyde her pilgremage/ And  
whan they cam agayn they fonde her sone lyvinge/ And  
than they wente and told the Juge/ whiche Juge sayde  
that he wolde not bpleue hit tyll a cok and an henne  
whiche rosted on the fyre were a lyue and the cok crewe.  
And anon they began were a lyue and the cok crewe and

Began to crouse and to pasture/and: whan the Juge sawe  
this miracle/he wente and toke down the sone/and made  
the chamberper to be taken and to be hanged/wherfore  
I saye that the hostes ought to hold no tapsters ne cham  
berpers/But yf they were good meure and honeste/For  
many harmes may be fulle and come by the disordenat  
rewele of seruantes .

The seuenth chapitre of the thirde Tractate treteth of  
kepars of townees customers and tolle gaderers 2c .

**T**he gardes and kepars of of cytees ben signefied  
by the .vii. pawn whiche stondeth in the lyfte hie  
to fore the knyght / And is formed in the sem  
blance of a man holdyng in his right hande grete keyes  
And in his lyfte hande a potte & an elle for to mesure with  
And ought to haue on his gurdell a purse open / And  
by the keyes ben signefied the kepars of the cytees and  
townes and comyn offices / And by the potte and elle  
ben signefied them that haue the charge to weye and  
mete & mesure trulpy And by the purse ben signefied them  
that resceyue the costumes . tolles . scawage . peages/and  
duetes of the cytees & townes And thys peple ben sette  
by ryght to fore the knyght/ And hit beloueth that the  
gardes and offycers of the townes be taught And en  
seyned by the knyghtes / And that they knowe and  
enquire how p cytees or townes ben gouerned/whiche  
apperteyneth to be kept and defended by the knyghtes .  
And first hit apperteyneth that the kepars of the cyte be  
dyligente . besy . clere seeynge and louers of the comyn  
prouffit & wele/as well in the tyme of pees as in the tyme  
of warre / They ought alleway to goo in the cyte and



enquyre of all thynges and oughte rapporte to the gouer  
nours of the cyte suche thynges as they fynde and knowe  
Ande suche thynges as apperteyneth ande to the seuerite of  
the same / ande to denounce ande telle the defaultes ande pas  
sages that ther bee / Ande yf hit be in tyme of warre they  
oughte not to open the gates by nyght to no man / Ande  
suche men as ben put in this office / oughte to be of good re  
nome and fame. trewe. ande of good conscience / In suche ma  
ner that they loue them of the Cyte or towne / Ande that  
they put to no man any blame or vilanye with out cause  
by enuye. Couetyse ne by hate / but they oughte to be sory  
ande heuy when they see that any man shold be complay  
ned on for any cause. For hit happeth ofte tymes that di  
uerse officers accuse the good people fraudulently / To  
thende that they myght haue a thanke and be preserued ande  
to abide stille in theyr offices Ande trewly hit is a grete  
and hie maner of malice to be in will to doo euill ande  
diffame other with out cause to gete glorie to hym self  
Also the keepers and officers of cyties oughte to be suche  
that they suffre no wronges ne vylonies to fore the Ju  
ges ande gouernours of cyties with out cause to be doon  
to them that ben Innocents / but they oughte to haue theyr  
eyen ande regarde vnto hym that knoweth the hertes and  
thoughtes of alle men / Ande they oughte to drede ande doubt  
hym with out whos grace theyr wach ande keepinge  
is nought Ande that promyseth to them that doubt hym  
shall be euorous and happy / Ande by hym ben alle thynges  
accomplishid in good / Hit is founden in the histories of  
rome that Temperour Frederik the seconde did make  
a gate of marbyle of meruayllous werke ande entayll in  
the cyte of capnane vpon the watre that remeth aboute

the same/ and vpon this pate he made an ymage lyke hym  
self sittynge in his mageste/ and two iuges whiche were  
sette/ one on the right side and that other on the left side.  
And vpon the sercle aboue the hede of the iuge on þe ryght  
side was wretton/ Alle they entre seurlly that will liue pu  
relly / And vpon the sercle of the iuge on the left side was  
wretton The vntrewe man oughȝt to doubte/ to doo thyng  
that he be put to prison fore/ and on the sercle aboue them  
pour was wretton/ I make them lyue in mysery / that I see  
lyue dysmesurably / And therfore hit apperteyneth to a  
iuge to shewe to the peple for to drede and doubte to doo  
euyl / And hit apperteyneth to the gardes and officers  
to doubte the iuges and to do trewly their seruyces and  
offices And hit apperteyneth to a prynce to menace the  
traytours and the malefactours of right greuous paynes.  
And herof we fynde in the auncient histories of cecylle  
that the kynge denys had a broder whom he louyd sore  
well / But all way where he wente he made heuy and  
tryste semblant / And thus as they wente bothe to gyder  
on a tyme in a chare / ther cam agayn hem two poure men  
wyth glady visage but in foule habite / And þe kynge anon  
as he sawe them/ sprang out of his chare and resseruyd  
them worshipfully with grete reuerence/ wherefore his ba  
rons were not only ameruayled but also angry in their  
corages / notwithstanding fere and drede letted them to  
demande hym the cause/ But they made his broder to de  
mande the cause and to knowe the certaynte/ And when  
he had herde his broder saye to hym the demande/ and  
that he was blessyd & also a kynge whiche was ryche  
and full of delites & worshipis/ he demanded hym yf he  
wold assaye & knowe the grace and beneurte of a kynge



Ande his broder answered y<sup>e</sup> / Ande that he desirede ande  
requyred hit of hym / ande than the kynge commanded vnto  
alle his sugettis that they shold obeye in alle thynges  
only vnto his broder Ande than when the oure of dyner  
cam ande alle thyng was redy / the broder was sette at  
the table of the kynge Ande when he sawe that he was  
seruyd wyth right noble hostellers ande other officers .  
Ande he herde the sownes of musique right melodious  
The kynge demanded hym than / yf he supposide y<sup>e</sup> he were  
benegerous ande blessingid . Ande he answered I wene well  
that I am right well blessingid ande fortunat / ande that I  
haue well proued ande fele ande am expert therof Ande  
than the kynge secretly made to be hangid ouer his heed a  
sharp cuttyngge swerde hangyng by an hors heer or a fil  
ken threde so small that no man myght see hit wher by  
hit henge / ande when he sawe his broder put no more his  
hand to the table / ne had no more regarde vnto his ser  
uantes / he sayd to hym why ete ye not / ar ye not bles  
sid / save yf ye fele ony thyng otherwyse than blessingid  
ande well / Ande he answered for as moche as I see this  
sharp swerde hangyng so subtilly ande parillously ouer  
my heed I fele well that I am not blessingid for I drede that  
hit shold falle on my heed / ande than discoverd the kynge  
vnto hem alle wherfore he was all way so heuy cherid  
ande triste . For wher he was / he thought allway on  
the swerde of the secrete vengeance of god / whiche he  
beseld allway in his herte / wherfore he had allway in  
hym self grete drede Ande therfore he worshipid gladly  
the poure peple wyth glady visage ande good conscience  
Ande by this sheweth the kynge well / that what man  
that is all way in drede is not all way mery or blessingid .

And herof sayth Cypntilian that this drede surmounteth alle other maleurties and euyls. For it is maleurtie of drede nyght and day / And it is writte that to hym that is doubtid of moche peple / so muste he doute moche / And that lord is lasse than his seruantes that dredeh his seruantes / And truly hit is a ryght sure thyng to drede no thyng but god / And sumtyme ryght hardy men ben constrayned to lye in drede / Drede causeth a man to be curpous and besy to kepe the thynges that ben commysed to hym that they perisshe not / But to be to moche hardy and to moche ferdfull / bothe two ben vices / The comyn officers ought to be wise. discrete. and well aduysed in suche wyse that they take not of þe peple ne requyre no more than they ought to haue by reson / ne that they take of the sellars ne of the byars no more than the ryght custom and toll / for they bere the name of a comyn pson / and therfore ought they to shewe them comyn to all men / and for as moche as the byars and sellars haue somtyme moche langage / they ought to haue with them these vertues / that is to wete patience and good courage with honeste / for they that ben despiteus to the comyn / ben otherwhile hard in vilayns despite / therfore beware þe thou haue no despite to the poure mendicants / yf thou wilt come and atteyne to thynge souerayn / for the iniurie that is don wythoute cause / tozareth to diffame hym that doth hit / A Jogheler on a tyme belydd so crates and said to hym / thou hast the eyen of corrupour of children and art as a traytre . And whan his disciples herde hym / they wold auengid their maister / But he reprevyd hem by suche sentence saynge / Suffre my felaws for I am he and suche one as he saith / by the light of my visage / But I refrayne and



Kepe me well from fuche thyng / This same Socrates  
hym self was chidde and right fowll spoken to of his  
wyf / and she imposide to hym many grete Iniuries with  
out nombre / and she was in a place a houe ouer his heede  
And when she had browld J nowh / she made her wa-  
tre and pourid hit on his heede And he answerd to here  
no thyng agayn / sauf when he had dryed and wyppid  
his heede he said / he knewe well that after fuche wynde  
and thonder sholde comen rayn and watre And the phi-  
losophres blamed hym that he coude not gouerne two  
women / that was his wyf and his chambere / And  
shewde hym that one cokke gouerned well . xv . hennes  
He answerd to them that he was so used and accusto-  
med wyth thei chydng that the chydnges of them  
ne of estrangere dyde hym no greef ne harme / gyue thou  
place to hym that browleth or chydeth / and in sufferng  
hym thou shalt be his vanyquissour / And Cathon  
sayth when thou lyst ryghtfully receyve the not of the  
wordes of euill peple / And therefore it is sayd in a  
comyn prouerbe / he that well doth receyvet not who  
seeth hit / a hit is not in our power to lette men to speke .  
And prosper sayth that to good men lacketh no good-  
nes / ner to euill men tencions stryfe and blames And  
pacienc is a right noble vertu / as a noble versifier sayth  
That pacienc is a ryght noble maner to vanyquisshe .  
For he that suffereth ouercometh . And yf thou wilt  
vanyquisshe and ouercome / lerne to suffre / The peagers  
ner they that kepe passages ought not to take other  
peage ne passage money but fuche as the pryncce or the  
lawe haue establisshid / so that they be not more rob-  
bers of monope than reseruours of peage and passage

And hit apperteyneth to them to goo out of the paryllo?  
 weyes and doubteuous for to kepe their office and they  
 ought to Requyre their passage of them that owe to  
 paye hit wyth oute noyng and contencion / And they  
 ought not to loue the comyn prouffyt so moche / That  
 they falle in the hurtynge of their conscience / For that  
 shold be a manere of robberye / And herof sayth ysaye  
 Woo to the that robbest / For thou thy self shalt be  
 robbed / The gardes or porters of the gates of cytees  
 and of the comyn good ought to be good and honeste .  
 And alle trouthe ought to be in them and they ought  
 not to take ne withdrawe the goodes of the comyn that  
 they haue in kepyng / more than apperteyneth to them  
 for their pension or ffee / So that they that ben made  
 tresorers and keepers ben not named theues / For w<sup>h</sup>  
 that taketh more than his / He shall neuer thryue wyth  
 alle / ner shall not enioye hit longe / For of euyl gooten  
 good the thyrd heyr shall neuer reioyce / And this suf  
 fith 2c .

This eyght chapitre of the thirde booke treteth of Ry  
 bauldes players of dyse and of messagers and courours  
**T**he rybauldes players of dyse And the messan  
 gers and courours ought to be sette to fore the  
 rook / For hit apperteyneth to the rook whiche  
 is viayre & lieutenant of the kynge to haue men couenable  
 for to reime here and there for tenquyre & espie the place  
 and cytees that myght be contrarie to the kynge / And  
 thys parron that representeth thys peple ought to be for  
 med in this maner / he must haue the forme of a man that  
 hath longe heeris and black and holdeth in his ryght  
 hand a litell monoye And in his lyfte hand thre Dyse



And aboute hym a corde in stede of a gyrdell / and ought  
to haue a booke fulle of letters And by the first / which is  
money is vnderstande they that be folle large & wastours  
of theyr goodes / And by the seconde which is the dysse  
Ben represented the players at dysse / Rybauldes and  
butters / And by the thyrde which is the booke full of  
letters Ben representid the messagers . courours / And  
bearers of letters / And ye shall vnderstande that the  
roock which is vicaine of the kynge whan he seeth to  
fore hym suche peple as ben follelarge and wastours .  
He is bounden to constitute and ordeyne vpon them tu  
tours and curatours to see that they ete not ne waste in  
suche maner theyr goodes ne theyr heritages / that pouerte  
constrayne hem not to stele / For he that of custome hath  
had haboundance of monere and goth and dispendith  
hit folly and wasteth hit away / whan he cometh to  
pouerte and hath nought / he muste nedes begge and are  
his breder . or ellis he muste be a theef / For suche maner  
of peple / yf they haue ben deliuous they wyll not la  
boure / for they haue not lerned hit And yf they be noble  
and comen of gentilmen / they be ashamed to are and  
begge / And thus muste they by force whan they haue  
wasted theyr propre goodes yf they wyll lyue they  
muste stele and robbe the goodes of other And ye shall  
vnderstande that follelarge is a right euill vice / for how  
well that she doth good and prouffit somtyme to other  
yet she doth harme and damage to hym that so wasteth .  
Cassiodore admonesteth the folle larges to kepe theyr  
thynges / that by no necessite they falle in pouerte / And  
that they be not constrained to begge ne to stele of other  
men . For he saith that hit is gretter subtilte to kepe well

his owne goodes / than to fynde strange thyng / and that  
it is gretter vertue to kepe that is gotten than to gete and  
wyne more / and claudian saith in like wise in his booke  
that hit is a gretter thyng a better to kepe that is gotten  
than to gete more And therefore hit is sayd p<sup>r</sup> the poure  
demandeth and beggeth er he felith / and also hit is sayd  
that he p<sup>r</sup> dispendith more than he hath / with oute strook  
he is synnen to the deeth / Ther was a noble man named  
John de ganazath whiche was ryght ryche / And this  
man had but two daughters whom he maried to two  
noble men / And whan he had maried them / he loued so  
well his sones in lawe their husbondes / that in space a  
succession of tyme / he departed to them alle his goodes  
temporell / And as longe as he gaf to them they obeyed  
hym a were right diligent to please and serue hym / so hit  
befell that on a tyme that he had alle gyven in so moche  
that he had ryght nought / Than hit happend that they  
to whom he had gyven his goodes / whiche were wont  
to be amiable a obeyssant to hym as longe as he gaf.  
Whan tyme cam that he was poure and knewe that he  
had not they becam vnkynde Disagreeable and disobey  
ssant / And whan the fader sawe that he was decey  
uyd by his debonayrte and loue of his daughters / He de  
sired and coueyted sore to schewe his pouerte / At laste  
he wente to a marchant that he knewe of olde tyme.  
And requyred hym to lene to hym .x. thousand pounde  
for to paye and rendre agayn w<sup>th</sup> in thre dayes / And  
he lente hit hym / and whan he had brought hit in to his  
howse / Hit happend that hit was a day of a solemne  
feste / on whiche day he gaf to his daughters and her  
husbonds a right noble dyner / and after dyner he entred



in to his chambre secretly wyth them / And drew out  
of a coffre that he had do make all newe shettynge with  
iii. lockis / the menore that the marchant had sente hym  
And poured out vpon a tapyte that his doughtres and  
theyr husbondes myght see hit / And whan he had shew  
wyde hit vnto them he put hit vp agayn and put hit in to  
the cheste farynge that hit had ben all his And whan  
they were departed he bare the money home to the mar  
chant that he had borrowed hit of / And the next day  
after his doughters and theyr husbondes Aride of hym  
how moche monere was in the cheste that was shette  
wyth .iii. lockis / And than he faryned and saide that he  
had therein .xxv. thousand pound / whiche he kepte for  
to make his testament and for to leue to his doughters  
and hem / if they wolde bere hem as well to hym ward  
as they dyde whan they were married / And than whan  
they herde that they were right ioyous and gladd And  
they thoughte and concluded to serue hym honorably as  
well in clothynge as in mete and drynke and of alle other  
thynges necessarye to hym vnto his ende And after this  
whan the ende of hym began tapproche / he calld his  
doughters and her husbondes and sayd to hem in thys  
mauere / ye shall vnderstande that the monere that is in  
the cheste shette vnder .iii. lockes I wyll leue to you  
Sarynge I wyll that ye geue in my presence or I dye  
whiche I lyue to the freere pcehours .C. pound and to  
the freere menours .C. pound / And to the heremytes of  
saint Augustyn .l. pound to thende that whan I am bu  
ried and put in the erthe ye maye demande of them the ke  
yes of y<sup>e</sup> cheste where my tresour is Iime / whiche keyes  
they kepe / and I haue put on eche keye a bille and writynge

In witnessinge of the thynges abovesayd / And also ye  
shall vnderstande that he dyde do to be gyven whilis he  
laye in his deth bedde to eche church and recluse and to  
poure peple a certayn quantyte of monye by the handes  
of his doughters hys bondes / whiche they dyde gladly .  
In hope to haue shortly the money that they supposid had  
ben in the cheste / And whan hit cam to the last day / that  
he dyde / He was born to church and his exequye  
don and was buryed solempnly / And the eygth day  
the scrupse worshipfully accomplisshid / They wente  
for to demande the keyes of the Religious men that they  
had kept / whiche were deliuered to them / And than  
they wente and opend the coffre wher they supposid  
the money had ben iune / And there they fonde no thyng  
but a grete clubbe / And on the the handlyng was wre  
ton / I John of canazath make this testament / that he be  
slayn wyth this clubbe / that leuyth his owen prouffit .  
And gruyth hit to other / as why sayth hit is no wy  
sedom for a man to geue his good to his children and  
kepe none for hym self / And ye shall vnderstande that  
it is a grete folye to dispende and waste his good / In  
hope for to recoure hit of other / be hit of sone or doughter  
or ryght nyghe kyn / For a man ought to kepe in his  
hande in dispendyng his owen goodes / to fore he see that  
he dyspende other mennys / And he ought not to be  
holden for a good man / That hath lityll renome and  
spendeth many thynges / And I trowe that suche per  
sones wold gladly make noueltees as for to noye and  
geue seignories and meue warres and tenciona aga  
ynst them that habounde in rycheesses and goodes / And  
also make extorcyons clamours and tribulacions ayenst



their lordes to thende to waste the goodes of the peple.  
lyke as they haue wasted theiris Ande such a wastour  
of goodes may neuer be good for the comyn prouffit.  
Ande ye shall vnderstande that after these wastours of  
goodes we saye that the pleyars of dyse ande they that  
use bordellis ben worst of alle other. For when the herte  
of playnge at the dyse / Ande the couetyse of theyr styng  
kyng lecherie hath brought hym to pouerte / hit foloweth  
with by force that they muste ben theues ande robbeurs  
Ande also dronkenship . glotonye . Ande alle maner of  
euyllis folowe them ande myschief / Ande they folowe  
gladly the companies of knyghtes ande of noble men  
when they goon vnto the warre or batayllis Ande they  
coueyte not so moche the victorie as they do the robberie  
Ande they do moche harme as they goo Ande they brynge  
feyll gayn or wynnynge / wherof hit happend on a tyme  
that saynt Bernard rode on an hors aboute in the contrey  
Ande mette with an hasardour or dyseplayer / whiche  
sayde to hym / thou goddes man wylte thou playe at dyse  
with me thyng hors ayenst my sowle / to whom saynt  
Bernard answered / yf thou wilt oblige thy sowle to  
me ayenst my hors / I wolle a highte down . i . playe with  
the / ande yf thou haue mo poyntes than I on thre dyse I  
promyse the thou shalt haue myn hors / Ande than he  
was gladd / ande anon caste . iiii . dyse / Ande on eche dyse  
was a spise / whiche made . xviii . poyntes Ande anone he  
toke the hors by the brydell / as he that was sewn that he  
had womme / ande said that the hors was his Ande than  
saynt Bernard sayde abyde my sone . For ther ben mo  
poyntes on the dyse than . xviii . Ande than he caste the  
dyse / In such wyse that one of the . iiii . dyse cleft a

sonder in the myddes / And on that one parte was syse  
and on that other an Aas / And eche of that other was  
a syse / And than Saynt Bernard sayde That he had  
wonne hys soule for as moche as he had caste on thre  
dyse .xix. poyns / And than whan thys player sawe  
and aperceyved thys myracle / He gaf hys soule to  
saynt Bernard and be cam a monke and fynishid his  
lyf in good werkes / The courours and beurs of lettres  
ought hastely and spedily do her viage that is coman  
ded hem / With oute tarpenge / For their tarpenge might  
noye and greue them that sende hem forth / or ellis them to  
whom they ben sent too / And tozue hem to ryght grete  
domage or villonye / for whiche cause euery noble man  
ought well to take hede to whom he deliure his lettres  
and his mandements / and otherwhyle suche peple ben  
Jogylers and dronkeleues / And goon out of their waye  
for to see abbayes and noble men for to haue auantage  
And hit happeth ofte tymes that whan suche messagers  
or courours ben enpesshid by ony tarpenge / That other  
courours bere lettres contrarye to his / And come to fore  
hem / of which thynges ofte tymes cometh many thynges  
discouenable of losse of frendes of castells and of lande and  
many other thynges as in the foet of marchandise 2c .  
And otherwhyle hit happeth that a pryncce for the faulte  
of suche messangers leseth to haue victorie vpon hys  
enemyes / And also ther ben some that whan they come  
in a cite where they haue not ben to fore / that ben more  
besy to visyte the Cite and the noble men that dwelle  
theryn / Than they ben to doo theyr wyage / whiche  
thyng they ought not to doo / But yf they had speyde  
all charge of them that sente hem forth so to doo .



And also when they be sente forth of ony lordes or mar  
chauntes they ought to be well ware / that they charge  
hem not wyth ouer moche mete on morenynges ne wyth  
to moche wyne on euenynges / wherby her synewis and  
vapnes myght be greupd / that they muste for faute of  
goode rewele tarpe But they ought to goo and come has  
tely for to reparte to their maistres answers as hit apper  
tyneth And this suffisen of the thynges aboue sayd .

**T**he fourth tractate is the last of the progression and  
draughtes of the forsayd playe of the chesse.

**T**he first chapitre of the fourth tractate of the chesse  
orde in genere how it is made .

**I**E haue deuised aboue the thynges that apperteyne  
vnto the formes of the chesse men and of theyr  
offices / that is to wete as well of noble men as  
of the comyn peple / than hit apperteyneth that we shold  
deuyse shortly how they yssue and goon oute of the pla  
ces where they be sette / And first we ought to speke of  
the forme and of the facion of the chequer after that hit  
representeth and was made after / For hit was made  
after the forme of the cite of Babylone / In the whiche  
this same playe was founden as hit is sayd afore / And  
four thynges The first is / wher ye shal vnderstande that  
ye ought to consydere hys m fore that. lxxiii. poyntes ben  
sette in the eschequer whiche ben alle square / The seconde  
is wherfore the bordur aboute his hygher than the squar  
enes of the poyntes / The thirde is wherfore the comyn  
peple ben sette to fore the nobles / The fourthe wherfore  
the nobles and the peple ben sette in their propre places  
Ther ben as many poyntes in þe eschequer wyde as full  
And ye shall first vnderstande wherfore that ther ben

lxxiii. poynte in the eschequer/. For as the blessed saint  
Jerome saith/the cite of Babilone was right grete and  
was made alle square/ and in every quarter was .xvi.  
myle by nombre and mesure/ the whiche nombre four  
tymes told was .lxxiii. myles/ After the maner of some  
bardye they be callid myles/ and in france leukes/ and in  
englong they be callid myles also/ And for to represente  
the mesure of this cite/ In whiche this playe or game  
was founden/ The philosopher that fonde hit first ordey-  
ned a tablier contrynnyng .lxxiii. poynte square/ the which  
ben comprised wpyth in the bordour of the tablier/ ther ben  
xxxii. on that on side .xxxii. on that other whiche ben or-  
deyned for the beaulte of the playe/ and for to shewe the  
maner and drawynge of the chesse as hit shall appere in the  
chapitres folowynge/ and as to the seconde/ wherfore þe  
bordour of the eschequer is hygher than the table wpyth in.  
hit is to be vnderstande þe bordour aboute representeth  
the walle of þe cite/ whiche is right hyghe/ And therfor  
made þe philosopher the bordour more hyghe than þe tablier  
And as þe blessed saint Jerome saith vpon þe prophesie  
of ysaye/ that is to wete vpon a montaigne of obscurete.  
whiche wordes were said of babilone whiche standeth  
in chaldee/ and nothyng of that babilone that stondeth in  
egypte/ for it is so þe babilone whiche standeth in chaldee  
was sette in a right grete playne/ and had so hyghe walles  
that by the heghthe of them/ was contynuell derkenes en-  
vironed and obscurete/ that none erthely man myght beholde  
and see the ende of þe hyghnes of the walle/ And therfore  
ysaye callid hit þe montaigne obscure/ And saint Jerome  
sayth þe mesure of the heghthe of this walle was thre  
thousand paces/ whiche extendeth vnto þe lengthe of thre



myle lombardes / hit is to wete that lombardes myles and  
english myles ben of one lengthe And in one of the cor  
ners of this cite was made a toure treangle as a shelde  
wherof the heryght extended vnto the lengthe of .vii.  
thousand paas / whiche is .vii. myle english And this  
towre was callid the tour of Babel / The walles  
about the tour made a woman whos name was semi  
ranus as sayth virgilius / As to the thirde wherfore the  
comyn peple ben sette to fore the nobles in the felde of the  
bataylle in one reuge First for as moche as they ben ne  
cessarye to alle nobles For the rooke whiche standeth  
on the ryght syde and is vicare of the kynge what may  
he doo yf the labourer were not sette to fore hym and la  
bourid to mynystre to hym suche temporell thynges as  
be necessarye for hym / And what may the knyght doo  
yf he ne had to fore hym the smyth for to forge his ar  
mours . saddellis . axes and spores and suche thynges as  
apperteyneth to hym / And what is a knyght worth  
wyth out hors and armes / certaynly nothyng more  
than on of the peple or lasse pauenture And in what ma  
ner shold the nobles spue yf no man made cloth and  
bought and solde marchandise / And what shulde  
kynge and quene and the other lordes doo yf they  
had no physiciens ne cyrurgiens / than I saye that the pe  
ple ben the glorie of the Crowne And fusteyne . the lyf  
of the nobles And therfore thou that art a lord or a no  
ble man or knyght / despise not the comyn peple for as  
moche as they ben sette to fore the in y<sup>r</sup> place The seconde  
cause is why the peple ben sette to fore the nobles and  
haue the table wyde to fore them / is be cause they begyn  
the bataylle / They ought to take hede and entende to do

their offices and their craftes / In such wise that they  
suffre the noble men to gouerne the cyties and to coun-  
ceyle and make ordnances of the peple of the batayll  
how shold a labourer a plowman or a craftyman coun-  
ceyle and make ordnance of suche thynges as he neuer  
lerned / And wote he knoweth the mater vpon what  
thyng the counceyle ought to be taken / Certes the co-  
myn peple ought not to entende to none other thyng  
but for to do their serupse and the office whiche is coue-  
nable vnto hem / And hit apperteyneth not to hem to  
be of counceyls ne at the aduocacions / ne to menace  
ne to threte noman / for ofte tymes by menaces and by  
force good counceyle is distroubled / And where good  
counceyl faileth / there ofte tymes the cyties ben betra-  
yed and destroyed / And Plato sayth That the comyn  
thynges and the cyties ben blessing whan they ben gover-  
ned by wise men / or whan the gouernours studie in  
wisedom / And so hit apperteyneth to the comyn to lerne  
to vtre the maters and the maner of procuracion to fore  
they be counceylours / For hit happeth oft tymes that he  
that maketh hym wyser that he vnderstandeth is made  
more foole than he is / And the fourth cause wherfore  
ther ben in the tabler as many poynts wyde as ben full  
hit is to wete for that they what euer they be that haue  
peple to gouerne / ought to haue cyties and castellis  
and possessions for to sette his peple thereyn / And for to la-  
boure and doo their ocupacion / For for to haue the name of  
a kyng with out royaume is a name wyde / and honour  
with out prouffit / And alle noblesse wyth out good  
manera / and with out suche thynges as noblesse may be  
maintenyd / ought better be callid folpe than noblesse .



Ande shamefull pouerte is the more greuous wthan hit  
cometh by nature of an hygh ande noble burth or house.  
For nomian gladly wole reueue a poure man of the co  
myn peple / But euery man hath in despite a noble man  
that is poure yf he haue not in hym good maners ande  
vertuous / By whiche his pouerte is forgotten / ande truly  
a royaume with oute haboundance of goodes by whiche  
hit may be gouerned ande prospere / may better be calld  
a latrocynie or a nest of theeuys than a royaume / Alas  
what haboundance was some tymes in the royumes.  
Ande what prospite / In whiche was Justice / Ande euery  
man in his office contente how stood the cyties that tyme  
in worship ande renome / how was renowned the noble  
royume of Englonde / All the world dredded hit Ande  
spack worship of hit / how hit now standeth ande in  
what haboundance I reporte me to them that knowe hit  
yf ther ben theuys wyth in the royaume or on the see / they  
knowe that labour in the royaume Ande sayle on the see  
I wote well the same is grete therof I pray gode saue  
that noble royaume Ande sende good true ande politicque  
counceyllours to the gouernours of the same 2c / Ande  
noblesse of signage wyth oute puyssance ande might is  
but vanyte ande dispite . Ande hit is so as we haue sayd  
to fore that the schequer whiche the philosopher ordey  
ned represented ande figured the sayd cyte of Babilone  
Ande in lyke wyse may hit figure a royaume ande signefie  
alle the world And yf men regarde ande take heed vnto  
the poyntes vnto the middes of euery quadrante ande so  
to double euery quadrant to other the myles of this cyte  
all way doublinge vnto the nombre of .lxiiii. The nom  
bre of the same shulde surmounte alle the world / Ande

not only the world but many worldes by the doublinge  
of myne / whiche doublinge so as a fore is sayd / Shalde  
surmounte alle thynges / And thus endeth the first cha-  
pitre of the fourth booke .

The seconde chapitre of the fourth tractate treteth of  
the draught of the kynge / And how he meuyth hym in  
the chequer .

**W**e ought to knowe that in this world / the kyn-  
ges seignourye and regne eche in his royaume .  
And in this playe we ought to knowe by the  
nature of hit how the kynge meuyth hym and yssueth  
oute of his place / For ye shall vnderstande that he is  
sette in the fourth quadrante or poynt of the chequer .  
And when he is black / he standeth in the white / and the  
knyght on his ryght side in white / And the Alphyn and  
the rooke in black / And on the lyfte side the foure holden  
the places opposite / And the rayson may be suche / For  
the cause that the knyghtes ben the glorie and the crowne  
of the kynge / They ensuewe in semblable residence / that  
they two when they ben sette semblably on the ryght side  
of the kynge and on the lyfte side of the quene / And for as  
moche as the rook on the ryght syde is vicayre of the  
kynge he accompanieth the quene in semblable siege that  
the Alphyn doth whiche is Iuge of the kynge / And in  
lyke wyse the lyfte rook and the lyfte Alphyn accompanye  
the kynge in semblable siege / In suche wyse as they ben  
sette aboute the kynge in bothe sides wyth the Quene in  
manere of a crowne / That they may seurely kepe the  
royaume that reluyseth and shyneth in the kynge and  
in the Quene / In suche wyse as they may conferme  
and diffende hym in theyr sieges and in theyr places .



Ande the more hastily reime vpon his enemyes Ande for  
as moche as the Iuge: the knyght/ ande the vicaine. kepe  
ande garnyssh the kynge on that one syde/ They that ben  
sette on the other syde kepe the Quene / Ande thus kepe  
they alle the strength ande fermete of the royaume / Ande  
semblably otherwhile for to ordeyne the thynges that  
apperteyne to the counceyll/ ande to the besopaigne of the  
royaume / For ff eche man sholdr entende to his owen  
proper thynges/ Ande p they defendedr not ner toke hede  
vnto the thyngis p apperteynen to the kynge to the comyn  
ande to the royaume/ the royaume sholdr anon be deuidedr in  
parties Ande thus myght the Iuge regne / Ande the name  
of the dignyte royall sholdr be lost / Ande trulpy for as  
moche as the kynge holdeth the dignyte aboue alle other  
ande the seignourye royall/ therfore hit apperteyneth not  
that he absente hym longe/ ne wythdrawe hym ferre by  
space of tyme from the maister siege of his royaume/ For  
whan he wele meue hym/ he ought not to passe at the  
first draught the nombre of .iii. poyns / Ande whan he  
begynneth thus to meue from his whyt poyns / he hath  
the nature of the rooks of the right syde ande of the lyste  
syde for to goo black or whithe / Ande also he may goo  
vnto the white poyns where the gardes of the Cyte ben  
sette Ande in this poyns he hath the nature of a knyght.  
Ande thys two maners of meupnge apperteyneth other  
while to the quene/ ande for as moche as the kynge ande  
the quene that ben conioyned to gedre by mariage ben one  
thyng as one flessh ande bloodr/ therfore may the kynge  
meue on the lyste side of his propre poyns also wele as he  
were sette in the place of the quene whiche is black/ ande  
whan he goth right in maner of the rook only/ Ande hit

happen that the aduersarie be not couered in ony poynnt in  
the seconde ligne / The kynge may not passe from his  
black poynnt vnto the thirde ligne / And thus he sortifith  
the nature of the rook on the ryght syde and lyfte syde  
vnto the place of the knyghtes and for to goo ryght to  
fore in to the whyte poynnt to fore the marchant / And  
the kynge also sortyft the nature of the knyghtes whan  
he goth on the ryght syde in two maners / For he may  
put hym in the wyde space to fore the phisicien / And in  
the black space to fore the tauerner / And on the other  
side he goth in to other two places in lyk wise that is to  
fore the smyth / and the notarye / And thus as in goynge  
out first in to .iiii. poynnts he sorteth the nature of knygh-  
tes / and also the kynge sortifeth the nature of the alphins  
at his first yssue in to .ii. places And he may goo on bothe  
sides vnto the white place wyde / that one to fore p smyth  
on that on side / and that other to fore the tauerner on that  
other side / All these yssues hath p king out of his propre  
place of his owen vertue whan he begynneth to meue .  
But whan he is ones meuyd fro his propre place / He  
may not meue but in to one space or poynnt / and so from  
one to an other / And than he sortifeth the nature of the  
comyn peple / and thus by good right he hath in hym self  
the nature of alle / For alle the vertue that is in the mem-  
bra cometh of the herte and all meuyng of the body / The  
begynnyng a lyf comen from the herte / And all the dig-  
nyte that the subgettes haue by execucion / and contynuell  
appareance of their meuyng a yssue / The kynge deteyneth  
hit a is attributed to hym / the victorie of the knyghtes / the  
prudence of p Judges / the auctorite of the vicaires or legates  
The cōtynence of the quene / the cōcorde a vnite of p peple



Ben not all thise thinges ascribed vnto the honour and  
worship of the kynge In his yssue whan he meupd first  
The thirde signe to fore the peple he neuer exceedeth / Fro  
m the .iii. nombre alle maner of states begynne to meue  
For the trynary nombre conteyneth .iii. parties / whiche  
make a perfect nombre / For a trynary nombre hath .  
i. ii. iii. Whiche joyned to geder maken .vi. Whiche is  
the first partyt nombre And signifieth in this place / vi.  
persones named that constitute the pfection of a royaume  
That is to wete the kynge . the quene . Iuges . knyghtes .  
the vicaires or legats / and the comyn peple And therfor  
the kynge ought to begynne in his first meupnge of .iii.  
poyntes / that he shewe perfection of lpf as well in hym  
self as in other After that the kynge begynneth to meue  
he may lede wyth hym the quene / after the maner of his  
yssue For why the quene foloweth vnto two angula  
re places / after the maner of the alphas / and to a place  
indirect in the maner of a rook in to the black poynt to  
fore the phisicien / herin is signified that the women may  
not meue neyther make woues of pylgrymage ner of  
viage wythoute the wyll of theyr husbondes / For yf  
a woman had a wowed ony thyng / her husbond sh  
uld / and agaynsaynge / she may not yelde ne accom  
plishe her wowe / yf the husbond wyll goo oughwer .  
he may well goo wyth oute her And yf so be that the  
husbond wyll haue her wyth hym / she is bounden to  
folowe hym / And by reson For a man is the heed of a  
woman / and not ecomerso / For as to suche thingis as  
longe to patrymony / they ben lyke / but the man hath po  
wer ouer her body / And so hath not the woman ouer  
his And therefore whan the kynge begynneth to meue .

the Quene may folowe / And not alloway whan she  
meuyde it is no nede the kynge to mene / For why four  
the first signes be with in the linytes and space of the ro  
pame / And vnto the thirde popnt the kynge may mene  
at his first meuyng out of his propre place / And whan  
he passith the fourth signe he goeth oute of his ropame .  
And yf he passe oon popnt late hym beware / For the  
persone of a kynge is accounted more than a thousande  
of other / For whan he exposeth hym vnto the peryllis  
of bataylle / Hit is necessarye that he goo temperatly  
and slyly / For yf he be taken or dede / or ellis Includid  
and shette vp / Alle the strengthes of alle other faylle  
and alle is synysthid and losse / And therefore he hath  
nede to goo and mene wysely / And also therefore he  
may not mene but one popnt after hys fyrst meuyng  
but wher that euer he goo forward or backward or  
on that one syde or that other or ellis cornerwyse / He  
may neuer approche hys aduersarye the kynge nether  
than in the thirde popnt / And therefore the kynges in ba  
tayll ought neuer to approche one nyght that other / And  
also whan the kynge hath goon so ferre that alle his men  
be lost / than he is sole / And than he may not endure longe  
whan he is brought to y extremitie / And also he ought  
to take hede that he stande not soo that a knyght or an  
other saith chek rook / than the kyng loseth y rook / That  
kynge is not well fortunat that leseth hym to whom his  
Auctorite delegate apperteyneth / w y may doo the nedes  
of the ropame yf he be priuyde taken or dede / that was pro  
uisour of alle the ropame / he shall bere a sack on his hede  
that is shette in a cyte / And alle they that were theryn  
ben taken in captiuite and shette vp . 2c .



The seconde chapiter of the fourth booke of the queene  
and how she yssueth oute of her place.

**W**hen the Quene whiche is accompanied vnto  
the kynge begynneth to meue from her propre  
place / She goth in double manere / that is to  
wete as an Alphyn when she is black / she may goo on  
the ryght syde & come in to the port to fore the notayre  
And on the lyste syde in the black port and come to  
fore the gardes of the cite And hit is to wete that she  
fortifeth in her self the nature in .iii. maners first on the  
ryght syde to fore the alphyn / Secondly on the lyste syde  
where the knyght is / And thirde indirectly vnto the  
black port to fore the phisycen And the rayson why  
is for as moche as she hath in her self by grace / the auc-  
torite that the rooks haue by cōpyscion / For she may  
gyue & graunte many thynges to her subgetta graciously  
And thus also ought she to haue parfyte wisdom as the  
alphyns haue whiche ben iuges as hit sayd aboue in the  
chapitre of the Quene / And she hath not the nature of  
knyghtes / And hit is not fittynge ne couenable thyng  
for a woman to goo to bataylle for the fragilitie and fe-  
blenes of her / And therefore holdeth she not the waye in  
her draught as the knyghtes doon / And when she is me-  
uynge oute of her place she may not goo but fro oon  
port to an other and yet cornerly whether hit be fore-  
ward or backward takynge or to be taken / And here  
may be a ridd why the queene goth to the bataylle wyth  
the kynge / certainly it is for the solace of hym / and osten-  
cion of loue / And also the peple desire to haue succession  
of the kynge And therefore the tartaris haue their wyues  
in to the felde with hem / yet hit is not good that men haue

theyr wyues with hem / But that they abyde in the cyties  
 or within their owne termes / For whan they ben oute  
 of theyr cyties and limytes they ben not sure / But holden  
 suspecte / they shold be schainfast and hold alle men sus-  
 pect / For dyna Jacobs doughter as longe as she was in  
 the hows of her brethern / she kept her virginite / But  
 assone as she wente for to see the strange Regyons .  
 Anone she was corrupt and defowled of the sone of  
 hichem / Seneca sayth that the women that haue euyl  
 visages ben gladly not chaste / but theyr corage desireth  
 gladly the compaignie of men / And Solynus saith that  
 no bestes femellys desyre to be towched of theyr males  
 whan they haue conceyved / Except woman whych  
 ought to be a best Raysonable / And in thys case she  
 leseth her rayson / And Sidrac wythresseth the same  
 And therefore in the olde lawe / the faders had dyuerce  
 wyues and Ancellys to thende whan one was wyth  
 childe / they myght take another / They ought to haue the  
 visage enclyned for to eschewe the sight of the men / that  
 by the sight they be not meuyd with Incontynence and  
 diffame of other / And Ouyde sayth that ther ben some  
 That know well that they eschewe the dede / yet haue they  
 grete Joye whan they ben praped / And therefore ought  
 the good women flee the curposities and places wher  
 they myght falle in blame and noyse of the peple .

The fourth chapitre of the fourth booke is of the ys-  
 lund of the Alphyn .

**T**he manere and nature of the draught of the Al-  
 phyn is such / that he that is black in his propre  
 siege is sette on the right side of the kyng / And  
 he that is whyt is sette on the lyste side / And ben



callyd and namede black and white / But for no cause  
that they be so in substance of her propre colour / But for  
the colour of the places in whiche they ben sette / And  
allexay be they black or white / when they ben sette in  
theyr places / the alphyon on the ryght syde / goynge oute  
of his place to the ryght syde ward / comyth to fore the  
labourer / And hit is reson that the Juge ought to def-  
fende and kepe the labourers and possessions whiche  
ben in his Jurisdiction by alle right and lawe / And also  
he may goo on the lyfte syde to the wyde place to fore  
the phisicien / For lyke as the phisiciens haue the charge  
to hele the Infirmities of a man / In lyke wyse haue the  
Juges charge to appease alle stryues and contencions and  
reduce vnto vnyte / And to punyshe and correcte causes  
crynynels / The lyfte alphyon hath also two wayes fro  
his owne place oon toward p<sup>r</sup> right syde vnto the black  
space wyde to fore the marchant / For the marchants  
nede ofte tymes counceylle and ben in debate of questions  
whiche muste be determyned by the Juges / And that  
other yssue is vnto the place to fore the rybauldrie / And  
that ys be cause that ofte tymes amonge them . falle  
noyses discencions thefte and manslaghter / wherefore  
they ought to be punysshid by the Juges / And ye shall  
vnderstande that the alphyon goth allexay corner wyse  
fro the thirde poynt to the thirde poynt keepynge all way  
his owne siege / For yf he be black / he goth all way  
black / And yf he be whyte he goth allexay whyte .  
the yssue or goynge cornerly or angularly signefieth cau-  
tele or subtyltye / whiche Juges ought to haue / The .iii.  
poyntes betoken .iii. thynges that the Juge ought to at-  
tende / A Juge ought to furder rightfull a trewe causes .

secondly he ought to gyve fyve counceyll/and; thirdly  
he ought to gyve and; Juge rightfull sentences after the  
legeances / And; neuer to goo fro the ryghtwisnes of  
the lawe/And; it is to wete that the Alphyn goth in fir  
driwhtre alle the tablier round; aboute/and; that he co  
meth agayn in to his owen place / And; how be hit that  
alle rayson and; good; perfection shold; be in a kynge/ye  
ought hit also specially be in them that ben conceylours  
of the kynge and; the Quene And; the kynge ought not  
to doo any thyng doubtfule/tyll he haue a ryd; counceyll  
of his Juges And; of the sages of the royaume And; ther  
fore ought the Juge to be parfaytly wyse and; sage as  
well in science as in good; maners / And; that is signe  
fyed; when they meue from thre poynthe in to thre / For the  
fyrst nombre by whiche they goo alle theschequer/And;  
bryng; hem agayn in to her propre place in suche wyse  
that thende of her moeyng; is conioyned; agayn to the  
begynnyng; of the place from whens they departed; And;  
therfore hit is callid; a parfayt moeyng; .

The fyfth chapitre of the fourth Tractate is of the  
moeyng; of the knyghtes .

**A**fter the yssue of the Alphyns we shall deuyse  
to yow the yssue & the moeyng; of the knygh  
tes / And; we save that the knyght on the right  
syde is whyt/And; on the lyfte syde black/And; the yssue  
and; moeyng; of hem bothe is in one maner when so is  
that the knyght on the ryght syde is whyt / The lyfte  
knyght is black / The moeyng; of hem is suche / That  
the whyte may goo in to the space of the alphyn/as hit  
apperyth of the knyght on the right side that is whyte .



Ande hath thre p<sup>ss</sup>ues fro his propre place / one on his  
ryght syde in the place to fore the labourer / Ande hit is  
well reson that when the labourer ande husbonde man  
hath laboured the felde / the knyghtes ought to kepe  
them / to the intent that they haue vitaylles for them self  
and their horses / The second p<sup>ss</sup>ue is that he may meue  
hym vnto the black space to fore the notarye or draper .

For he is bounden to deffende ande kepe them that make  
his reftementis a couertours necessarye vnto his body .  
The thirde p<sup>ss</sup>ue is that he may go on the lyste syde in to  
the place to fore p<sup>r</sup> marchant whiche is sette to fore the  
kynge / the whiche is black / Ande the reson is for as  
moche as he ought ande is holden to deffende the kynge  
as well as his owen persone / when he passith the first  
draught / he may goo four wapes / Ande when he is in  
the myddes of the tabler he may goo in to .viii. places  
sondry / to whiche he may reme Ande in lyke wise may  
the lyfte knyght goo whiche is black ande goth oute of  
his place in to white / ande in that maner goth the knyght  
fichtynge by his myght / ande groweth ande multiplieth  
in hys poyntis / Ande ofte tymes by them the felde is  
wonne or lost / A knyghts vertue ande myght is not  
knownen but by his fichtynge / ande in his fichtynge he  
doth moche harme for as moche as his myght extendeth  
in to so many poyntis / they ben in many peryllis in there  
fichtynge / Ande when they escape they haue the honour  
of the game Ande thus is hit of euery man the more val  
lant / the more honoured Ande he that meketh hym self  
ofte tymes shyneth clearest .

**T**he first chapitre of the fourth tractate treteth of the  
p<sup>ss</sup>ue of the rooks ande of her progression .

**T**he moevinge and p'ssue of the rooke which  
ben vicaires of the kynge is such / that the ryght  
rook is black and the lyfte rook is whyte / And  
whan the chesse ben sette as well the nobles as the co-  
myn peple first in their propre places / The rooke by their  
propre vertue haue no wey to p'ssue but yf hit be made  
to them by the nobles or comyn peple / For they ben en-  
closed in their propre sieges / And the reson why is suche  
That for as moche as they ben vicaires lieutenants or co-  
m'issioners of the kynge / Theyr auctorite is of none ef-  
fecte to fore they p'ssue out / And that they haue begonne  
tenhaunce their office / For as longe as they be within  
the palais of the kynge / So longe may they not vse ne  
execute their comm'ission / But anon as they p'ssue they  
may vse their auctorite / And ye shall vnderstande that  
their auctorite is grete / for they represente the p'sone of the  
kynge / and therefore where the tablier is wyde they may  
renne alle the tablier / In lyke wyse as they goon thurgh  
the royaume / and they may goo as well white as black  
as well on the right side & lyfte as forward and back-  
ward / And as fer may they renne as they fynde the ta-  
blier wyde whether hit be of his aduersaries as of his  
owen fellowship / And whan the rook is in the myddell  
of the tablier / he may goo which way he wyll in to  
four right lignes on euery side / and hit is to wete that  
he may in no wyse goo corner wyse / but all way ryght  
forth goynge & comynge as afore is sayd / wherefore all  
the subgettis of the kynge as well good as euill ought  
to knowe by their moevinge that auctorite of p' vicaires  
and comm'issioners ought to be veray true right wis &  
juste / and ye shall vnderstande that they ben stronge and



vertuous in bataylle. For the two rooks only may vanquyſſe a kynge theyr aduersarye and take hym/ and take from hym his lyf and his royaume / And this was don when chirus kynge of perse And darius kynge of medes ſlew baltazar and toke his royaume from hym. Whiche was neuere to enlomoradach vnder whom this game was founden.

The ſeuenth chapitre of the fourth booke treteth of the iſſue of the comyn peple 26

**O**ne iſſue and one mounge apperteyneth vnto alle the peple / For they may goo fro the poynnt they ſtande in at the firſt meynge vnto the thirde poynnt right forth to fore them / and when they haue ſo don they may afterwarde meue no more but fro one poynnt right forth in to an other / And they may neuer retorne backward And thus goynge forth fro poynnt to poynnt They may gete by vertue and ſtrengthe / that theynge that the other noble ſynde by dignyte / And yf the knyghtes and other nobles helpe hem that they come to the ſertheſt ſygne to fore them where theyr aduersaryes were ſette. They acquyre the dignyte that the quene hath graunted to her by grace / For yf any of them may come to thys ſayde ſigne / yf he be white as a labourer draper phyſicien or kepar of the cyte ben / they receyue ſuche dignyte as the quene hath / for they haue gotten hit / and than retournynge agayn homeward / they may goo lyke as it is ſayde in the chapitre of the quene And yf any of the parons that is black / as the ſmyth the marchant the tauerner and the rebaulde may come wyth oute damage in to the ſame utteriſt ſigne / he ſhall gete by his vertu the dignyte of the black quene And ye ſhall vnderſtande / when theſe

comyn peple meue right forth in her ligne/ and fynde ony  
noble persone or of the peple of their aduersaries sette in  
the poynnt at on ony side to fore hym/ In that corner poynnt  
he may take his aduersarye wherther hit be on the right  
side or on the liste/ And the cause is that the aduersaries  
ben suspicious that the comyn peple lye in a wayte to  
Robbe her goodes or to take her persones whan they  
goo vppwarde right forth. And therefore he may take in  
the right angle to fore hym one of his aduersaries/ As  
he had espied his persone/ And in the liste angle as rob  
ber of his goodes/ and whether hit be goynge forewarde  
or retournynge fro black to whyte or whyte to black/ the  
pawen must all way goo in his right ligne/ and all way  
take in the corner that he findeth in his waye/ but he may  
not goo on neyther side tyll he hath ben in the furdest ligne  
of the schequer/ And that he hath taken the nature of the  
draughtes of the quene/ And than he is a fier/ And than  
he may goo on alle sides corner wyse fro poynnt to poynnt  
only as the quene doth fightrynge and takynge whom he  
findeth in his waye/ And whan he is thus comen to the  
place where his nobles his aduersaries were sette he shall  
be namede white fier or black fier/ after the poynnt that  
he is in/ and there taketh he the dignyte of the quene 2c.  
And all these thinges may appere to them that beholden the  
play of the chesse/ and ye shall vnderstande that no noble  
man ought to haue despyte of the comyn peple/ for hit hath  
ben ofte tymes seen/ that by their vertu and witte/ Diuerce  
of them haue comen to right highe and grete astate as popes  
bissoppes Emperours and kynges/ As we haue in the  
hystorie of Dauid that was made kyng/ of a shepherde  
and one of the comyn peple/ and of many other 2c.



And in lyke wyse werde of the contrary / that many  
noble men haue ben brought to myserye by their default  
As of gyges whiche was righte riche of landes and of  
richesses And was so proude that he wente and deman-  
ded of the godd apollo / yf ther were any in the world  
more riche or more happy than he was / and than he herde  
a wyse that yssued out of the fosse or pitte of the sacrifici-  
es / that a peple named agalaus sophide whiche were  
poure of goodes and riche of corage was more accepta-  
ble than he whiche was kynge And thus the godd Ap-  
ollo allowed more the sapiencie & the seurte of the poure  
man and of his lityll mayne / than he dide the astate and  
the persone of gyges ne of his ryche mayne / And hit is  
more to allowe a lityll thyng seurlly pourheued than  
moche good taken in fere and drede And for as moche  
as a man of lowe signage is by his vertue enhaunsed  
so moche the more he ought to be glorious and of good  
renomee / virgile that was born in lombardye of p nation  
of mantua and was of lowe and symple signage / yet  
he was souerayn in wisdom and science and the moste  
noble of alle the poetes / of whome the renome is and  
shall be durynge the world / so hit happend that an other  
poete axid and demanded of hym wherfore he setted  
not the versis of homere in his booke / And he answerd  
that he shold be of righte grette strength and force that  
shold pluck the clubbe out of hercules handes / And  
thys suffyceth the state and draughtis of the comyn  
peple &c .

**T**he eyght chapitre and the last of the fourth booke of  
the epilogacion and recapitulacion of this booke .

**A** Or as moche as we see and knowe that the me-  
morie of the peple is not retentive but right for-  
getefull whan some here longe talis a hi, torpes  
whiche they can not eke reteyne in her mynde or recorde.  
Therefore I haue put in this present chapitre all þe thynges  
abovesayd as shortly as I haue conne / First this playe  
or game was founden in the tyme of emmerodach kynge  
of Babilone / And exerce the philosopher otherwys  
named philometer fonde hit / And the cause why was  
for the correction of the kynge lyke as hit apperith in the  
the first chapitres / for the said kynge was so tyrannous  
and felon that he myght suffre no correction / But slew  
them and did do put hem to deth / that correctid hym / and  
had than do put to deth many right wyse men Than the  
peple beyng sorowfull and right euill pleased of this  
euill lyf of the kynge prayd and requyred the philoso-  
pher / that he wolde reprove and telle the kynge of his  
folye / And than the philosopher answerd that he shold  
be dede yf he so did / and the peple sayd to hym / Certes  
thou oughtest sonner wille to dye to thende that thy re-  
nome myght come to the peple / than the lyf of the kynge  
shold contynue in euill for lacke of thy counceyll / or by  
faulte of reprehension of the / or that thou darst not doo  
and shewe / that thou saist / And whan the philosopher  
herd this he promised to the peple yf he wolde put hym  
in deuoyr to correcte hym / and than he began to thynke in  
what maner he myght escape the deth and kepe to the  
peple his promysse / And than thus he made in this ma-  
ner and ordeyned the chequer of .lxxiii. points as is a-  
fore sayd / And did do make the forme of chequers of  
golde and siluer In humayne figure after the facyons



and formes as we haue dyuyfide and shewide to p<sup>er</sup>u  
to fore in thei<sup>r</sup> chapitres / And ordeyned the moeyng  
and thestate after that it is saide in the chapitres of thes  
chesses And whan the philosopher had thus ordeyned  
the playe or game / and that hit pleside alle them that  
sawe hit / on a tyme as the philosopher playde on hit / the  
kyng came and sawe hit and desired to playe at this  
game / And than the philosopher began to enseigne and  
teche the kyng the science of the playe and the draughtes .  
Sayng to hym first how the kyng ought to haue in  
hym self p<sup>er</sup>tie . debonaire and rightwisnes as hit is saide  
to fore in the chapitre of the kyng And he enseyned to  
hym the estate of the quene and what maners she ought  
to haue And than of the alchymys as conncyllours and  
Iuges of the royaume And after the nature of the knygh  
tes / how they ought to be wise . trewe and curtoys and  
alle the ordre of knyghthode And than after the nature  
of the vicaires and rooks as hit appereth in thei<sup>r</sup> chapitre  
And after this how the comyn peple ought to goo eche  
in his office / And how they ought to serue the nobles .  
And whan the philosopher had thus taught and enseig  
ned the kyng and his nobles by the maner of the playe  
and had reprehended hym of his euill maners / The kyng  
demanded hym vpon payne of deth to telle hym the cause  
why and wherfore he had made and founden this playe  
and game And what thyng meuyde hym therto / And  
than the philosopher constrayned by fere and drede ans  
werde / that he had promyside to the peple whiche had  
requyred hym that he shold correcte and reprice the kyng  
of his euill vices / but for as moche as he doubtide the deth  
and had seen that the kyng didde do s<sup>er</sup>ue the sages and wyse

That were so hardy to blame hym of his vices / He  
was in grette angursshe & sorow / How he myght fynde  
a maner to correcte & reprehende the kynge / And to saue  
his owen lpf / and thus he thought longe & studped that  
he fonde thys game or playe / Whiche he hath do sette  
forth for to amende and correcte the lpf of the kynge and  
to change his maners / and he adiousted with all that  
he had founden this game for so moche as the lordes and  
nobles habondynge in delyces & riches / And enioynge  
temporell peas shold eschewe ydleness by playnge of  
this game / And for to geue hem cause to leue her pensif-  
nes and sorowes / In auyssenge & studyng this game.  
And when the kynge had herd alle thys cause / He  
thought that the philosopher had founde a good maner  
of correction / And than he thanketh hym gretly / and thus  
by thensefngment and lernynge of the philosopher he  
changid his lpf his maners & alle his euill condicions  
And by this maner hit happend that the kynge that to  
fore tyme had ben vicious and disordynate in his liuyng  
was made iuste. and vertuous. debonaire. gracious and  
and full of vertues vnto alle peple / And a man that ly-  
ueth in this world without vertues liueth not as a man  
but as a beste / And therefore my ryght redoubted lord I  
pray almighty gode to saue the kyng our souerain lord &  
to geue hym grace to resseue as a kynge & tabounde in all  
vertues / & to be assisted with all other his lordes in such  
wyse p his noble royaume of Englonde may prospere &  
habounde in vertues / and p synne may be eschewid iustice  
kepte / the royaume defended good men rewarded malefac-  
tours punysshid & the ydle peple to be put to labour that  
he with the nobles of the royaume may regne glorious



In conquerynge his rightfull inheritaunce / that veruie  
peas and charite may endure in bothe his royumes; and  
that marchandise may haue his cours in suche wise that  
euery man eschewe synne; and encrece in vertuous occu-  
pations; Praynge your good grace to reserue this knyght  
and symple tooke made vnder the hope and shadowe of  
your noble protection by hym that is your most humble  
seruant; in grete and thanke And I shall praye almighty  
god for your longe lyf & wel fare / whiche he preserve  
And sende you thaccomplishment of your hye noble.  
Ioyous and vertuous desires Amen: / : . . . . .  
This the  
last day of marche the yer of our lord god. a. thousand  
foure hunderd and lxxiiii . . . . .



The names of the braverett made at the battell of Poole  
by the neweale upon trent the xij day of june the y<sup>e</sup> of  
Harry the vij

J Gilbert Talbot

J John Cheney

J William Pones the vij was made before the battell and  
after the battell was made the same day

J John of Strindell

+ J Thomas Cooke

J John Fortescue

J Edmund Bemyngfeld

J James Blount

J Sir of Crofte

J Humphrey Stanley

J Sir Delabere

J John Mortimer

J William Trumbelle

English made at the same

battell

J Andrew for a Gyse of J<sup>e</sup> lord Dudley

J Edward Morys

J Robert Clifford

J Messer Gypton

J Robert of Bronghton

J John



Thomas Corbett  
of Geoffrey Sanger  
of Harry Wyloughby  
of John Saborotby  
of William Wanger  
of Anthony Browne  
of Sir Isaac  
of Thomas Terrett  
of Sir Lewis  
of Thomas Green  
of Nicholas Wynn  
of Edward of Borough  
of William Tyrnypitt  
of James Paullett  
of William Constable  
of Sir Longforthe  
of James Borington  
of Harry Bould  
of Sir William  
of William Redmyll  
of Gregory Lovell  
of Thomas Blount  
of Robert Chynny  
of William Saxon  
of John Wynn  
of Robert Belington

of John Wynn  
of George Myntt the 2nd  
of Robert Garloff of the 1st  
of James Parker  
of Edward Dorell  
of Edward Pleyning  
of Thomas of Walton  
of William Sander  
of Robert Brandon  
of Thomas a poole  
of Mary Baskley  
of John Pleyler  
of John Longbyll  
of William Blyton  
of William Norris of Lincoln  
of John Dyoby  
of Thomas Gausford  
of Robert Wanger  
of Thomas Gynn  
of Mary a Brien

Per me hunc librum pridie Calendas Aprilis. an. dno

1577

Per me Joannem Willfium

Vivunt regina

Finit quod

Coluy sine



Coluy sine

Coluy sine

Coluy est sine de Johanne Willfio

ma. tr. 1577

1577

1577

1577



Ames. 2

~~Perfectus~~

Perfecit librum ultimo die Martij. Anno domini.

In worde and eke in dede

In word & eke in dede  
O be thy livinge lord.  
Hast thoue in th' feare and drede  
Nimely whiche is thy god.

Witbin thy heart & minde  
Judge no euill of thy freinde.  
Loue god w<sup>th</sup> all thy moude hearte  
So shalte y<sup>e</sup> not faine fele y<sup>e</sup> faine  
f goddes most cruell rodde  
euer put thy truste from god.  
Fare quod willson.